

/33 cont./

342 There is nothing of that here. All the stone circumvallations
333 that defend the tiers of cultivation are subject to incessant re-
vision. In the house, on the other hand, there was nothing about
the schistose slabs arranged in straight lines that looked like a
lord. The latter, farther to the S., inhabited his qacba /casbah/
184 of pisé. In this part of Morocco, the palace is of mud, and the
554 shanty of stone. There is nothing more disconcerting for us than
712 the facility with which the montagnard abandons the hovel,
166 taking away only the woodwork, and sets about building else-
342 where. Hence so many scattered ruins: such old villages, with
their banquettes and their walls, are abandoned. For which there
are several reasons, one of which doubtlessly is moral: horror of
the ruins, to which avenging forces are attached, and the other
economic: this immense debauch of man power, which by its
realizations, sometimes masterly, but irregular, dispenses the
human action of perseverance.

621 Another idea to revise, the one that we often have of a habi-
tat so fragmented. For the European geographer, this would be
the /34/ sign of an anarchial particularism, of a failure of social
structures. Now here it is just the opposite. Nothing is more
closely united than these ensembles of écarts /separate parts/ or
hamlets, lmud'a, flung into the valley as if by chance, and
obeying only the exigencies of a capricious strategy or of mood.
The Chleuh /Shluh/ city is broken up into small bits, but it is a
city. It is crumbled throughout the canton. The fact is that,
through the combined effect of an inhospitable milieu and the
energy of the men, immense stretches of savage nature, of parks
and gardens are maintained between the blocks of houses.

The Family, Viewed from the Outside

592 "What one finds, in these mountains, is the family stock in
184 accordance with The Play. The individual person is absorbed
616 into it, under the patriarchal authority of the senior one. From
village to village, these little social and political foyers confront
one another in two leagues, to the measure of the whole extent of
the provinces."

But a

595 /35 cont./ contrast vigorous in other ways sets
 184 Seksawa as a bloc, as well as in addition all their neighbors of
 171 the Dir of Imintanout, against the Arab tribes of the plain, such
 589 as the Ud Besseba^c, essentially polygamous. A recent study has
 even revealed an incontestable fact in these mountains: the
 frequency of celibacy. In relation to married people, and in-
 cluding nubile adolescents, widows, and divorced persons, there
 would be a third of the men single, half of the women. Nothing
 can be established from such figures, lacking a specialized in-
 vestigation. But they should at least be noted here for the lie
 that they directly give to certain preconceived ideas.

562 All the Seksawa women have the storeroom keys. They de-
 343 mand them. Whoever refuses them to them sees them abandon
 712 the conjugal life, which is ridiculous and costly for the frustrated
 593 husband. Public opinion attributes this trait to a character prone
 to domestic disputes, but which they know how to make up for by
 other talents: that of sorceress, for example, or of clever cham-
 pion at trials, or again, as the adage says, of nocturnal beauty
 capable of furnishing during the day the work of a beast of burden!
 184 Finally, she is a Tasseksiwit: and that suffices. The tribe com-
 343 ments, with an amused and secretly admiring indulgence, on
 712 these traits, which, it thinks, differentiate it from all its neighbors:
 829 the Gedmiwa or those beyond the Tichka. For example, the Idaw
 Kais or the a. Tkssit, among whom, it is said, ten to fifteen
 foyers can live together without quarreling, or these Idaw
 Mh'mud where the masculine institution of the agadir /collective
 storehouse/ flourishes (1).

1. There is only one agadir operating among the Seksawa, that of Ikis. Remains of a ruined agadir at Iguntar. Cf. Lieut. P. Dupas, "Note sur les magasins collectifs du Haut Atlas occidental /Note on the collective storehouses of the western High Atlas/," Hesp., 1929, pp. 303 sq. ^A
 The wealth of the I. Mh'mud in agadir-s contrasts with the quasi-absence of them among the Seksawa, where there were some perhaps, if one

^A, [See 3: Dupas, this file--Analyst]

/35 cont./

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/footnote 1 continued/ believes the toponymy, but in an extremely old epoch. What is therefore characteristic of the Seksawa is not the existence, but the nonexistence of the agadir, at least for the modern epoch.

[562] In the agadir, in fact, it is the man exclusively who holds the key to the accommodations for grain; and again his managership is exercised in a communal harmony, which accentuates its extra-domestic character. Elsewhere, in Nfifa, in Mez'ud'a, a fortiori among the Ud Besseb^ac Arabs, it is "the family head" who administers the reserves. The latter, moreover, are often ensilaged outside of the dwelling. This family head is generally the elder of the house. Periodically he distributes to the couples living together in the tigemmi provisions that are individually prepared in most cases.

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In Mtugga it is estimated that half of the families practiced, before the Protectorate, a simultaneous community /36/ of habitat and of cuisine. But an evolution has forced its way through. If the elder still holds the key to the reserves, only a tenth of the families remain faithful to the single table. On the other hand, the large house has fallen into disfavor. The foyers swarm all around and build for their benefit a lodging that will be their own.

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Finally, in the neighboring tribes, such as the I. Buzia, the father abandons the communal house to the sons, builds apart, and then often takes a young wife. This division of regime and of habitat therefore sets in motion some complex phenomena: relations of good form between the old man and his adult sons, the intervention of the "démon de midi" /demon of the prime of life/, which here breaks up the common table and moreover orients the aging man toward secret affiliations.

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There is not necessarily, as one sees, coincidence between the administration of the reserves and the distribution of food. In the plains tribes, in fact, if the former duty falls most often to a single male, the latter is done foyer by foyer, that is to say, by conjugal families in the narrow sense. There still exist some

[Ait Lh'sen]

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133 walls. The vines shoot up on the trunks of huge walnut trees and
137 plunge down from there in lianas mixed here and there with
101 honeysuckle and briars. The impression is that of a thicket with
634 abundant foliage.

Downstream from the Sekrat, the landscape, having become harsher, reminds one that on the right the dry slopes of Ibuban display their schists with lentiscus and opuntia, without generosity for man. But the impression becomes cheerful again when one again finds the a. Lh'sen "from below," and their center, the "rocky" Buteghradin.

133 This section, extending from Tuz'z'umt to Awines along
101 very hard quartzites, has only more painfully adapted itself up-
634 stream to the Hercynian tectonics. Hard rocks, Appalachian
[134] peaks, powerful erosion make a young and tortured landscape.
Still, the soils there, in a general manner, are less decadent than in the principal valley. Nothing looks like devastation there. The country appears new in comparison with the Moyen Seksawa /Middle Seksawa/ which other conquerors, the Idma, left covered with the ruins of their predecessors and which the decadence of the trees and the drifting of the arable land desolated. Here, a
[137] vigorous forest vegetation crowns the domes, a persistent archi-
[241] tecture of terraces speaks of the collective solidarities. In the end, a country of rich substance, with well-cultivated ledges. Gardens here bear a variety of plants abandoned elsewhere. A feeling of communal prosperity breaks through here.

173 The whole valley is marked with memories. Certain ones,
634 of evil omen, recall the slaughters of times past. Thus at
726 Ukhriben, between Tabratjut and Agadir. An old population, the
619 Ih'erdach, remained there. The a. Lh'sen destroyed it by surprise on the same day that a saint was born: Sidi Abderrah'man u Messâud u Ali. His mother had to flee by way of a passage between the opuntia that one still sees there. She took refuge on a
[764] summit facing Agawz, the very one where the mausoleum of the
[712] saint exists, near the small fort of an unknown power: -Agadir n-Lmkhzen. Which Makhzen /makhzan/?

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619 metaphoric as it may be, this comparison nevertheless contains
648 its share of truth.

But the natural forces in themselves alone would fail to account for such exchanges. Reserving the historical problem of emigration, let us then apply ourselves to another problem, more particularly of the coast, if one wishes. It is the one to which these successive eliminations led, as to the essential and to the most permanent of those that the relation between the plain and the mountain poses. It is that of the correlations that are established between the mountain and the plain, when the montagnard has his tillage in the plain.

241 In the two neighboring groups, Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, the agricultural life as well as the habitat are divided very precisely between the plain and the mountain, lud'a and adrar. A well-organized correspondence links portions of the plain to the mountain villages through a tight network of seasonal going and coming, of work, and of complementary productions. Hence, within these two tribes, something analogous to the "remue" /moving/ so characteristic of the life of the Alps or the Pyrenees (1).

1. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, pp. 17 sq.; R.

Capot-Rey, Géographie de la circulation sur les continents /The geography of the circulation on the continents/, 1946, p. 58.

178 In olden times, in Mez'ud'a, for example, the division of land in the plain reproduced the political map of the mountain. Each village of the plateau or of the high valleys extended a perimeter of cultivation into the plain. But one hardly stayed down below.

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[343] It was to the shelter of the escarpments and often in fortified granaries or agadir-s that the peasants sheltered the harvest. The peace changed all that, and today one observes a double habitat (2).

[171] 2. Likewise the transhumance of the Anniviards led them to possess several habitations or villages,

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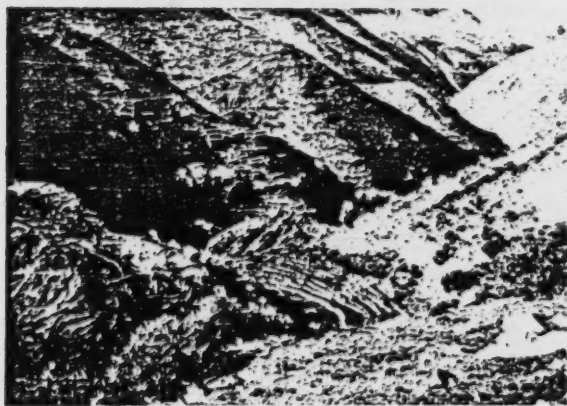
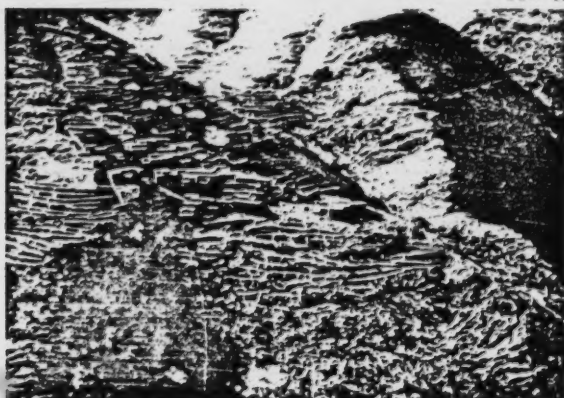
Now, it is in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that in the S.-W. of Morocco the Arab notarial practice became general, with all its consequences in the local genius: imitation, wagers, travesties, outbidding.

One can suppose that it was also during this period that the "Tables of the Law," ikchchuden or alwāh', material form assumed by the native codifications, multiplied. These communal archetypes seem to have formed the counterpart of the generalization of the individual writing, evident even at this time. A deliberate and collective effort of juridical expression could very well have been launched by this invasion from the exterior: both resistance and compromise, a mixed sentiment from which was to proceed, four centuries later, such Kabyle tariffications. A technique of proof, or, better, a technique of the judiciary memory, armed with a convenient instrument, paper, and a prestigious language, because secret, the Arabic notarial one, laid siege to the country. It awakened there a juridical spontaneity whose previous creations escape us. The Chleuh /Shluh/ law of the plain and even of the mountains was then undoubtedly driven to the necessity of adaptation and renovation from which its present characteristics resulted (1).

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1. It was perhaps also in this period that the charters of granary-citadels were drafted. Mme Jacques Meunié connects this drafting with the primacy of the Igezzulen at the time, and the "kingdom" of Tazerwalt, Greniers-citadelles... /Granary-citadels.../. 1951, p. 232. The hypothesis is quite interesting, but too limited, it would seem. The invasion of all of North Africa by the "mara-bouts" of the Moroccan S.W. likewise took place at the same time. There is an ensemble of facts there, about whose connection one has a presentiment, without, however, being able to explain it up to now.

Pl. XII

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The Iguntar

(Cl. L. Berque)

These two photographs, in upper Tagenza, in lower Tannemert, follow from upstream to downstream. To the right of the village of Tagenza, ruins of an agadir, destroyed by the caid Lmokhtar. This panorama offers all the elements of the cadre of life of a high-valley taqbilt: the agglomerations, the irrigated terraces, in dark; the dry terraces, lighter, themselves dominated by albur crops. A path goes along the right flank of the valley, at mid-slope, in a downstream direction.

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361 political units opposed to one another (1).
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1. The character of the internal divisions of these small units is nowhere more apparent than at Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, where a dozen hamlets forming four different political groups are juxtaposed in the center of an olive grove.

361 The Berbère /Berber/ villages are not all alike.
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When one leaves the plains to go into the mountains, one sees first of all the villages of the Dir following one another on the first slopes, then the small hamlets of the valleys and sometimes, still higher, several big villages of the summits.

361 On the Dir, the human groupings often take on a defensive
712 aspect. The houses press against the flank of the mountain, while
184 the crops stretch out on the plain. When security permits, there exist at the same time a mountain village solidly constructed of stone and, in the middle of the irrigated crops and the "bour" /unirrigated lands/, some hastily built "azib," where the flocks and field workers take shelter. If the Makhzen /makhzan/ makes peace reign in the country, these light constructions of the plain soon become true villages in their turn (2).

2. The double establishment on plain and mountain of the Dir tribes can be observed especially among the Gedmiwa, Dwiran, and Mzouda. Mountain villages and plains azibs often bear the same name. The tribe's territory in the Atlas is thus completed by a broad cultivated expanse in the Azaghar. The internal fractionizing and the political divisions of the tribe that exist in the mountains are found as if projected in the plain, and the same struggles are carried on there between the same parties. When insecurity appears and

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/footnote 2 continued/ is prolonged, most often following war with the Arab tribes of the vicinity, each one returns to his mountain house, within which he always carefully stores his provisions.

The same arrangement of associated villages of mountain and plain exists on the Dir of the north of the Anti-Atlas, among the Chtouka.

In the narrow valleys of the Atlas the poorness of the soil, the exiguity of the fields laid out in little terraces cannot suffice to support a numerous population. People then scatter in small hamlets of ten to twenty hearths, which are strung along the torrents, separated by a distance of two or three kilometers and sometimes more. These groupings of houses are customarily tiered on the valley slopes. Their site is not always /40/ an emplacement favorable for defense, because in a country where the difficulties of access are so great, one does not have to fear attack by strangers and the only peril comes from internal struggles. Also, the exposure of the houses to the sun, the proximity of the crops, the necessities of sheltering the flocks, of storage of grain, of the use of threshing floors are, for the founding of the hamlets, circumstances that prevail over the concern for security. Only the leaders, in order to defend themselves from their subjects more often than from their enemies, are preoccupied with building enclosures and high towers.

By contrast, in the regions of easy access, on the mountainous plateaus of the Anti-Atlas or in the land of the Haha, the hamlets must watch over their own security. They surround themselves with thick hedges of jujube trees and protect themselves with watchtowers or defense posts. When the houses, in groups of two or three, rise up on the summit of the hills, they become veritable little fortresses with thick walls, with narrow loopholes, and the families who live in them, linked by bonds of blood, can assist one another and endure a long siege.

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[343] At other times too, in the richer regions -- at the bottom of the more fertile basins that appear here and there in the Anti-Atlas -- groups of hamlets are established around the collective storehouses, inside which each home keeps its provisions. The very mass of the houses then forms, around these granaries, a natural defense.

Finally, near the summits, the big villages, almost unknown on the slopes of the Atlas, reappear at the head of ravines in the vicinity of plateaus favorable for the life of the flocks. Such are, for example, Tassa of the Alt Haddiyous, and Tasgint of the Ida ou Mahmoud, near the Tichka, or Amasin of the Ikhozamen, near the peaks of the Sirwa. These agglomeration of one to two hundred hearths, often dominated by large storehouses with the look of fortresses, are moreover in reality only winter villages situated at more than 2,000 meters in altitude. Everyone comes [243] to take shelter there when the first snows fall; but during the fine season the inhabitants scatter in groups of a few families in the midst of the pastures of the summits and here and there cultivate poor fields of rye and barley around enclosures of dry stone that serve them as houses.

/41/ Most of these Berbère agglomerations -- small cities with village-like appearance, valley hamlets, winter villages of the summits -- present a common double characteristic. They are almost always established near streams, because human life in the south of Morocco is closely bound up with the utilization of springs and ségulas. They only exceptionally occupy natural defensive emplacements on the summit of peaks in the manner of the villages of the Kabylia of the Djurdjura /Djurdjura/.

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592 If one observes attentively the exterior aspect of these various groupings, small towns or villages, one perceives the importance that the hamlet inhabited by a patriarchal group of ten to twenty hearths nearly always assumes. Every detached house tends to develop, if the family that occupies it succeeds in prospering, so as to form, by the juxtaposition of separate chambers constructed by the sons and relatives by marriage, an association strong enough to ensure its own defense and exploit its lands in

/41 cont./

621 security. Likewise, a big village is only the union of several
592 hamlets. Each of them belongs to a separate family group, and
it often suffices, in order to know the number of these small ele-
mentary social units that constitute a little Berbère republic, to
count on the spot the number of separate quarters (1).

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1. In the vicinity of the desert in the oases of the
Noun /Nun/ and the Bani, in the middle Dra and
the Dadès, it is common to observe the existence
of large qsars /fortified places/, whose houses
draw nearer and mutually protect one another.
Often, even, the village is surrounded by a ram-
part; here the proximity of the nomads, the divi-
sion of the population into haraten /Haratin/ ag-
riculturalists and Arab or Berbère /Berber/ pasto-
ralists -- who often play the role of protectors --
modify considerably the conditions of existence
that we have observed in the interior of the prov-
ince of the Sous.

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The urban character of the construction of the
qsars has often been noted. It even seems that there
exist in the Dra and the Dadès a particular architec-
tural tradition and a technique more skillful and per-
fected than in all the Moroccan South. It is doubt-
less to the artistic influence of the Dra that is owed
the beautiful "tighremt" /fortified houses/ found at
Telwet and among the Imeghran.

The most famous builders of these "tighremt" as
well as of the lordly casbahs of the Atlas come from
the tribe of the Ait Bou Yahya, north of Tisint.

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VII. The house. -- There does not exist, it is scarcely nec-
essary to say here, a "Berbère /Berber/ house" of uniform type,
whose disposition might be contrasted to that of the "Arab house."
The plan, the construction, the arrangement of the dwelling of
the Sous agriculturalist differ according to whether it is detached

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taken supreme authority by using the name of the Almohades. After hard fights the brother of the sultan Ya^cich Ibn Ya^cqoub scattered the Beni Gommi and destroyed Taroudant (1).

•[712]

1. Ibn Khaldoun, III, 493, IV, 164. -- Perhaps it is necessary to attribute to Ya^cich Ibn Ya^cqoub the construction of the immense fortress which is still seen among the Alt A^cissi (Haha) on the Jebel Asles facing the territory of the Ida Ou Tanan. From its appearance it seems to date from the Mérinide period; tradition attributes it to Ali Ya^cich, a personage about whom there are only imprecise legends. Tadert, the place where Ya^cich Ibn Ya^cqoub was first defeated, could be the village of this name among the Alt Zelten, near the kaid's house. Irgharen, where he put the rebels to flight, would be the present-day Iregharen among the Ida ou Tanan (Alt Ousri). Cf. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. III, p. 493.

In the reign of Abou Tabet, in 1308, there was first of all the disturbance created by a pretender, Yousof Ibn ^cAli ^cAyyad, at Aghmat among the Heskoura; then in the western part of the Deren an independent chief, ^cOmar ben Haddo ben Yousef, claimed the title of "agellid," Berbère /Berber/ king of the Seksawa. After a semblance of war, the Sultan contented himself with receiving presents from ^cOmar ben Haddo, had the Rokna, a rebel tribe who had taken refuge among the Haha, pursued, and left again to chastise the Arabs in the plains of the North (2).

[103]

2. Roudh el Kartas, p. 551. Tamezouart is without doubt the present village of Tamezaourt near our post of Bigoudine, on the main Makhzen /makhzan/ road from Bibaoun. The Rokna

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*631 [152] forces; it seems that their only weakness might be the jealousy that divides them and sets them against one another.

What we are permitted to know about the internal life of the great commands, however, serves well to give us the best idea of the power of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids. At the center of their domains they erected first of all imposing fortresses that contain hundreds of wives, relatives, servants, and slaves; artisans work in the courtyards of these casbahs; on the threshold, Jews sell and lend at interest; all this activity sometimes makes of their dwellings, such as Tefwet and Bouaboud, for example, veritable little towns in the heart of the tribes. Inside the enclosure of the casbahs one finds huge storerooms in which the grain harvested in the best lands of the valley is stored; it is there, too, that the subjects come to pay taxes in kind levied at the time of the harvest; finally, far from indiscreet glances, in the deep underground vaults, stretch huge prisons, in which, in the vermin, the highway bandits, as well as the rebels mad enough to have tried to struggle against the all-powerful mountain lords, die slowly.

Most of the time, the casbah of the Berbère /Berber/ chief is not alone in rising above the humble houses of his subjects. Other dwellings, scarcely less vast and luxurious, also protected by ramparts and decorated with towers, appear in the vicinity; these are the residences of the kaid's relatives. Thus we see /126/ that this domination is exercised over the land not by one chief, but by an entire family.

On the great access routes of the mountains still other fortresses rise up, often less important, it is true. Their role is to guard the most-frequented passages. Such are the casbahs of Agergour and of Tagadirt n Bour on the Nefis, of the Ait Oughir and of Tazert on the roads that lead to Telwet. In the tribes farther from the center of command, the "khalifats" /caliphates/ of the master also live behind solid ramparts, and some of these casbahs seem by their luxury and their proud dimensions to express a will for power and domination. To this last type belong, to the North of the Atlas, the fortress of Amismiz of the Gedmiwa and of the Ait 'Addi at Imi n Tanout; on the South slope of the

/126 cont./

*631 mountains, it is those of Taourirt at the Warzazat, of Asarag in
 •712 the Tifnout, of Izoggweir in the Zagmouzen, of Taliwin among
 the Souktana of the Sous, of Bou Zougga among the Ida ou Ziki.

*631 The very exercise of the power of the great chiefs of the
 174 mountains again confirms our first impression of an anciently es-
 tablished feudal regime. If we question them, the Berbère /Ber-
 ber/ lords will tell us that their ancestors formerly governed
 nearly all the tribes that are subject to them today. The latter
 thus find themselves, after generations, yielding in the most
 complete obedience. However it may have been in the past, so
 difficult to know now, caliphates, relatives, or allies of the great
 kaid, by living in their valley fortresses, ensure the transmission
 of their orders, scrupulously executed by the subjects. In the
 tribal fractions the agents of the caliphates are well-established
 *631 sheiks, whose houses, carefully constructed, given a coat of
 342 whitewash, are easily distinguished amidst poor villages with
 earthen walls.

*631 Finally, if we observe the scenes of daily life, an immense
 distance appears to us to separate the great chief, who, from the
 depths of his casbah, directs all the politics of the mountains,
 from the humble farmers hard at work, bent over the ground in
 their narrow valleys, whose appearance so poorly evokes to our
 eyes the fierce partisans of Almohade times. Upon the passage
 of the lord, one sees the subjects advance in crowds to kiss the
 flap of his garment or to bow before him in an attitude of deepest
 respect. Men-at-arms, peasants, Jews, and beggars crowd one
 [735] another in the /127/ courtyard of the feudal fortresses and wait for
 the alms of a meal from the generosity of the chief.

*631 Doubtless, it must certainly be admitted, we would be told,
 *634 if we insisted a little, there are to be found at the border of the
 great commands some lost cantons of the high mountains whose in-
 habitants do not unreservedly favor obeying the casbahs' orders.
 They are the very ones that Brives visited not long ago in the Atlas
 and that he calls the "Douars-tampon." These small villages,
 [721] more or less independent, "enjoy," he tells us, "a certain auton-
 omy; the adjoining kaid each have their partisans, combat is

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/footnote 1 continued/ his strength, whereas the moqaddem (pl. moqaddemin) is elected or designated in turn from among the notables.

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Higher still, this chief was no more than a magistrate elected for a year, the "moqaddem," who served as arbitrator in disputes. In the most remote valleys these small republics had kept intact all the institutions that we were still able to find near the summits, an oral or written customary law, a treasury enlarged by the fines imposed on the guilty, and old fortresses known by the name of "agadir," which served both as a collective storehouse during the peace and as a refuge in the internal wars.

Such was the political state of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ until 1860, at the beginning of Sultan Sidi Mohammed's reign, which the oldest old men still remember. Since that time the stages of the transformation of the country are in all the memories. The conquests of the kaid of the Mtougga began after the fall of their enemy El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi in 1868. They were seen to advance by the trail of the Tizi Ma'cho and try for a time to take over the richest tribes of the upper valley of the Sous. Then the amghars of Tagontaft, freed by a revolt from the authority exercised over them by the kaid of Agergour, conquered the upper valley of the Nefis before being recognized in turn in their capacity as kaid of the Makhzen in 1876.

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The reign of the sultan Moulay el Hasan was like a period of contemplation during which the new chiefs prepared their intrigues. Upon his death, by means of the anarchy, the Demsira, the Dwiran, Aghbar, the Alt Semmeg, Onein were defeated by the masters of Bouaboud or Tagontaft, taken away from their sheiks of former times, and handed over to exacting masters who ceaselessly demanded /135/ money and warriors in order to undertake new wars. The tribes already subject to the kaid of the Dir, Ouzgita, Gedmiwa, Mzouda, were in turn annexed to the great commands, and greedy caliphates foreign to the country were substituted for the traditional sheiks, easier to satisfy because they were closer to their subjects.

/136 cont./

*631 traditional quarrels of the fractions of the high mountains, stir
*634 about in their minuscule states; they patiently wait for a favor-
[978] able occasion for having the authority that they have acquired
recognized for their profit. Thus the last stage of the political
evolution of this high-mountain region will be realized by sub-
mission and the direct recognition of their power by the Makhzen
/makhzan/ (1).

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1. Since the French penetration in the Atlas has been accentuated, the minor chiefs of the Seksawa have submitted directly, without passing through the agency of the Bouaboud chiefs, to our bureaus of native affairs in 1927. The Ida ou Tanan followed their example a few months later.

*631 Without having the importance of the independent group of
619 the Tichka, whose state permits us to understand the whole evo-
121 lution of the Atlas of the Masmouda, since we can observe there
all the phases of the political transformation of the tribes, the
autonomous fractions of the Sirwa nevertheless afford particular
interest. They represent in our day the only vestige of ancient
[178] institutions preserved within the great command of the Glawa and
[174] help us to find again what the social organization of this whole
region was before the rapid and destructive conquest of 1913.

*631 It is thanks to their isolation that the small groups of pasto-
*634 ralists of the Ikhzamen, Alt Maghlif, Alt Abdallah, Alt Qalla,
619 in the confederation of the Alt Waouzgit, have up to now escaped
[669] the total ruin that struck the republics of the neighboring valleys.
• [712] As a matter of fact, near the summits of the Sirwa efforts of re-
sistance to the political transformation were concentrated around
large "agadirs" similar to the fortresses of the Anti-Atlas, which
enclose at the same time the citadel, the mosque, the general
storehouse, and even the bank of these little rude cities. But be-
fore the subjugation of the country, many cantons of the Alt

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[417] /254/ They are large square houses, provided on the exterior with a single door that leads to a central courtyard onto which open four or five floors of small rooms. Access to each of them is by a crude ladder carved in a tree trunk in "y" shape and by suspended passageways -- "isfoula" -- that run from one room to another. Sometimes a complete "isfoula" passageway even turns like a spiral along the four interior façades so as to run between all the floors of the agadir.

Each household possesses a variable number of rooms in the collective storehouse, two or three on the average, utilized especially for storing grain. The door of the agadir usually stays open during the day; the key is kept indiscriminately by the one of the inhabitants who comes first to use it in the morning, for there is no guard designated by the community. The hamlet "agadir" is nothing like a fortress; used by a small group of households, it has the appearance of a familial storehouse. Most often the construction is ancient and the walls are falling in ruins; new storehouses have not been built any more for a long time, it seems. In many hamlets of the Deren, they are entirely ruined and are not restored. Thus the use of these little storehouses tends to be lost, and each one becomes accustomed more and more to keeping his harvests and his provisions in his own house.

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But there exist also in the same regions other, larger agadirs in which a whole "mouda" or sometimes even a "taqbilt" comes to put its grain under shelter. This institution is still very much alive among the Ida Ou Mhamoud, in some cantons of the Seksawa, and among the Aït Gaïr and Aït Tigidar of the mountain Gedmiwa. In the region of the summits of the Sirwa these large storehouses, remaining more numerous, often take on the aspect of fortresses. Then they are large rectangular constructions that enclose three or four floors of chambers for provisions; they are flanked for defense by two or four carefully placed corner towers. The agadirs of the Aït Waouzgit, built on positions easy to defend, surrounded by a rampart behind which is found the mosque, the storehouse of the jema'a, that of the marabouts, /255/ the rest chambers for the guard, and a house reserved for the deliberations of the notables, truly concentrate all the social

/255 cont./

343 activity of the little Berbère /Berber/ republics during the peace.

• 712 In addition, if war breaks out, each one comes to seek refuge
184 there with his family in case of peril; a huge cistern that always remains full permits holding out against a long siege.

[619] These fortresses are particularly numerous in the Anti-Atlas.
* [634] Each tribe or each big fraction has its own. They then are often arranged in the interior in the form of narrow streets onto which open two rows of rooms built on three or four floors (1).

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1. This arrangement is identical with the one of the storehouses of the nomad Berbères /Berbers/ of the Tunisian South in the region of Fom Tatahouine.

Projecting stones permit access by climbing up to the highest doors. An enclosure of jujube-tree thorns piled up several meters high, several crenelated borjs /towers/ provided with machicolations ensure defense. The watch is stood by a group of warriors [625] from the tribe designated in turn in each "mouda^e" or each hamlet; the doorkeeper lives permanently inside the enclosure.

In these tribes of the Anti-Atlas, the use of the agadir is so general that one comes to keep in each house the provisions for only one day. Each morning the head of the family goes to obtain the necessary victuals from the canton storehouse, in order, he says, "that the women will not waste God's blessing."

[182] The role played by the agadirs of the Anti-Atlas and the sirwa region is easily explained by the conditions of life in a country where people can subsist only by amassing provisions in the years of abundance, rarer than those of drought and famine (2).

[127]

2. M. Officer Interpreter Ben Daoud has kindly communicated to us a work in preparation on the orf /tribal custom/ concerning the agadir of the Tamellokt tribe. This document contains more than 350 articles, which throw the most

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/footnote 2 continued/ curious light on the psychology of the council of the chiefs of the agadir. We thank him for kindly authorizing us to cite some of the most suggestive ideas of this translation.

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So we see the canton storehouse take on, without losing any of its defensive character, a growing economic importance; the number of rooms multiplies; a market is established at the door; special functionaries: a doorkeeper, some amins, a council of notables who proudly give themselves the title of "Ommal" -- "governors" of the agadir -- see to the good functioning, the maintenance, and the security of the storehouse. This organization becomes the /256/ point of departure of a complicated juridical regulation that fixes minutely the rights and the duties of the users; finally customaries appear, which are among the most surprising and perfect monuments of the legislation of the Berbères /Berbers/. These collections, to which the name of "louh," small board, is given, doubtless because they were originally written on a small board suspended on the wall, sometimes have more than 200 or 300 articles. The repair of the rooms and their roofing, the use of the measuring instruments, the sale of the commodities, security /Fr. nantissement, security, pledge, lien/, the use of loans on harvests are foreseen and studied in these codes with a precision of detail and good sense that does not seem to us to have been surpassed in any collective organization of the autochthons of North Africa (1).

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1. Cf. our study: "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/, " Hespéris, 1929.

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The council of the agadir of the Anti-Atlas is constituted, like that of the "taqbilt" of the Masmouda, by the heads of the most important families of the "khoms" or of the tribe. Its authority increases ceaselessly in proportion as the storehouse

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Among the Haha, the name of agadir is given in our day to villages situated in a position easy to defend -- at points that were suitable for the building of fortresses whose traces are no longer visible. In the country of the Ida Ou Tanan, the institution has not been forgotten as much, since people still indicate the spots where the storehouses, which the most ancient old men themselves found ruined, formerly existed (2).

2. Such are the agadirs of the summit of the Jebel Kouljad, that of Ima^cizen (agadir n Tafoukt), of Assaka (agadir n Alt 'Ali), of Tizgi n Chorfa (agadir n Ikberdiden), of Tadrart (agadir n Alt ou Bela^cid).

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Let us add that Portuguese nautical instructions of the sixteenth century (R. Ricard, "La côte atlantique du Maroc au début du XVI^e siècle /The Atlantic Coast of Morocco at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century/", Hespéris, 1927, p. 251) point out to us on the coast of the Ida ou Tanan the châteaux of Palma, Turucuco, Tucurumu, Tamarate (Tamerakht), which are probably agadirs.

and which belonged, if one judges by their names, to villages or cantons.

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Even in the Anti-Atlas the large agadirs were formerly more numerous, especially in the vicinity of the Dir, so that one /260/ can assert, by invoking the appearance of the ruins or the indications of the toponymy, that all the mountain Berbère /Berber/ tribes -- with the exception perhaps of those of the Igezzoulen of the western Anti-Atlas, still poorly known -- formerly possessed fortresses constructed by the villages or cantons, within which all the families kept their provisions and came to seek refuge during wars or internal discords.

(648) The causes of the decline of this institution are doubtless numerous; the most effective one is certainly the conquest of the country by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

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[631] As a matter of fact, the fortified storehouses, in which the inhabitants of the cantons put not only their harvests, but also provisions of powder and bullets for their defense, constitute natural centers of resistance against the domination of the great chiefs of the vicinity. In order to chastise a tribe and reduce it to powerlessness, the best means is to raze its agadirs. Thus the storehouses of the Dir of the north versant of the Atlas disappeared first of all, then the ones of the large valleys of the Nefis, the Ogdemt, the Asif el Mal, whose ruins are still visible. The last canton fortress that existed in the command of the kaid Gontafi was thrown down in 1925 among the Aït Tidigar, and the dream that the indocile montagnards of that little tribe have in our day is to raise its walls as soon as possible.

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* [631] It was the same on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas in the nineteenth century. Aghennaj, the great chief of the Haha, whose conquests have left so vivid a memory in the Sous, is still represented by the poets as a destroyer of agadirs:

[539] Aghennaj has passed on! His power is dead, it has been described to us.
He left ruined agadirs that never more have been filled.

His successors, El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi and Moulay Idris, did as much around Taroudant.

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726 It is especially in the Sirwa region, where the institution of fortress-storehouses had preserved great vitality until these last years, that their disappearance has been the most rapid. In fact, the conquest by the chiefs of the Glawa had as its immediate consequence in the valleys the destruction of the agadirs of hamlets, done by /261/ order, executed in corvée by the inhabitants of the villages themselves, commanded by the mokhaznis of the conquerors, and one would find with difficulty, in the whole country thus passed through by the harkas of the Glawa, any small storehouse that escaped their vigilance. As for the more redoubtable fortresses situated in the high mountains, the caliphates of the kaid of Telwet who had succeeded in

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343 penetrating into the territory of the small republics of the sum-
712 mits profited by every occasion to make them disappear. One
178 of them was declaring to us with satisfaction that he had had the
726 luck to ruin 12 in seven years of command (1).

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1. It is interesting to point out that the general decline of the institution was interrupted in the middle of the century in certain regions. The "siba" /revolt/ that marked the death of Moulay Abd er Rahman in 1859 had consequences so disastrous for all the tribes established between Imi n Tanout and Amismiz, following incursions of plundering Arabs from the plain, that certain villages surrounded themselves with ramparts and rapidly built fortified enclosures, in the middle of which they hollowed out silos.

These small fortresses were besides most often inhabited by minor chiefs who emerged amidst the siba struggles and took responsibility themselves to ensure the defense of the common property. They were entirely different in nature and arrangement from the small agadirs of hamlets, whose ruins still exist.

Again it is necessary to distinguish from the collective storehouses of the fractions or villages other agadirs constructed by the Makhzen /makhan/, at Amismiz, for example, and in which the tribes came to pay the "achour" /Koranic tax/. By a natural extension, the same name of agadir designates at present all the casbahs built by order of the sultans or by the chiefs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/.

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But the political state of the country is not alone in entailing the disappearance of the collective storehouses; it indeed seems that economic causes, or perhaps simply the weakening of a long

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tradition, were sufficient to precipitate their ruin, even in the regions where the Makhzen /makhzan/ never penetrated. Thus it is that in the high valleys of the Atlas agadirs are no longer built; a certain number of fractions or villages do not possess any; each one more and more becomes accustomed to keeping in his house all his reserves of grain and walnuts. If one compares this slow disappearance with that which is still more marked in the country of the Ida Ou Tanan, situated out of the reach of the Sultan's harkas, it is doubtless permissible to think that we are in the presence, throughout the Atlas, of the progressive decline of an institution that in our day has kept its full vitality only in part of the central Anti-Atlas.

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One could doubtless go further and try to follow in the past and in other regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/ what the evolution of the collective storehouses could have been. Perhaps it is permissible to think that the custom of constructing these fortresses and leaving there /262/ the provisions that are not needed for daily existence is a legacy from the most ancient periods, having come from the time when the population, sedentary today, was still given to nomadism (1).

1. Cf. our study on "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/," Hespéris, 1929.

Whatever its origins may be, it is doubtless an institution whose decline, so apparent at present, permits judging the state of weakness into which in the Sous most of the traditions of the Berbère /Berber/ republics have fallen.

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178 VII. Decline of the Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Sous.--

Before trying to understand how the chiefs who will make the secular traditions disappear rise and grow in importance, thus facilitating the submission to the Sultan, we can cast our eyes once again on the province of the Sous, in which we have found the best examples of the organization of the independent tribes;

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178 enough, for one who knows how to see, to show the violence with which the two forms of political organization oppose each other.

178 At the entrance to a high valley, at Assarag of the Tifnout,
 712 it is a caliphate's casbah, imposing because of its mass and its crenelated towers, that bars one of the routes of the Atlas and gives the traveler the illusion of a former dwelling of the masters of the country. But the walls that support the borjs /towers/ crowned with merlons were still sheltering a collective storehouse of the canton ten years ago. The conquerors came, took possession of the agadir and its provisions; then the tribe assembled by their pains constructed an enceinte around, raised towers and whitened the walls, laid out chambers and rooms; in a few months a true feudal casbah thus appeared on the foundation of a canton fortress. A few passing years, moreover, have sufficed to split the earthen ramparts and to give the patina of time to this proud house.

178 At other times the transformation of the villages is spontaneous and the contrast is still more striking. There exist around the
 361 summits of the Sirwa small egalitarian republics that, in the
 * [63] solitude of the plateau, remain obstinately attached to their dream of old. One would search in vain, for example, in the
 [342] village of Amassin of the Ikhozzamen, for some feature that distinguishes the dwelling of the rich from that of the poor. Above
 [712] the 200 houses, whose line stretches out indefinitely and suggests the idea of a gigantic rabbit hutch, rises a handsome collective fortress, where a famous customary is carefully preserved, while the little senate, the "Alt ed-diwan," meeting in the enceinte, deliberates at length in order to regulate the common life.

178 But if one leaves the high plateau to gain, some hours'
 361 march southward, the valley of the Alt Atman, a surprising
 343 spectacle awaits us. In former times the agadir of Tinider, one
 712 of the most perfect and most celebrated storehouses because of its interior arrangement and its law, dominated a village similar to that of Amassin. Twenty years ago, during a glorious siege,
 [726] the Alt Atman resisted in this large storehouse the assembled warriors of ten /265/ cantons and none had been able to reduce

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178 them. When the Glawa came, the sheik that they had chosen in
361 the country received the order to make the old fortress, whose
343 ruined walls are still visible today, disappear by pickax blows.
712 Then, very quickly, the aspect of the village became unrecog-
[726] nizable. Amidst the houses, all alike, of the inhabitants of this
old egalitarian republic, rise at present the dwellings of notables,
adorned with corner towers and decorated in the Berbère /Berber/
manner with geometrical designs in whitewash. The new sheik
of the Makhzen /makhzan/ gradually raised its walls higher,
added borjs, crenelated the summits of the towers, and gave a
more "feudal" appearance to his modest dwelling of former
times. His young son, a handsome young man, having become
the favorite of the master of Telwet, has inherited henceforth
the paternal authority. Mounted on a handsome black horse, it
is he who comes, with perfect ease, to welcome the guests. He
dreams of a high position in the Makhzen /makhzan/, and while
the "imzwarn," the notables of the village, formerly all-power-
ful, come together humbly around him to receive his orders, the
walls are going up for a beautiful casbah that his father intends
for him and that the whole canton is building by "touiza."
When a person is acquainted with the past of this valley, he
thinks he is dreaming upon embracing within a few hundred
meters, with a single glance, first the ruins of the agadir of
old, then the sheik's casbah proudly planted at the edge of the
village, with its white borjs, as well as the new houses of the
notables, his relatives, finally the large dwelling built like that
of a great chief, which next year will house the minor amghar.
Its proud towers, which the inhabitants of the country, assembled
by order, are finishing before us, will dominate the remains of a
democratic village that the children themselves remember.

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175 removed from the influence of the kaid of Agergour by remote-
* 634 ness and the difficulty of the mountain roads, a notable from the
726 northern Dir of the Atlas, established at Tisgin of the Gedmiwa,
[648] had also tried to seize power. The death of the sultan Moulay
• [712] 'Abd er-Rahman had been the signal for a siba /revolt/ of five
years, which had devastated the whole plain; the little cities of
the Dir had been constrained to build ramparts and agadirs in
haste in order to shelter families, flocks, and harvests from the
attacks of the Arab tribes. By means of these wars the newly
enriched son of a fellah, Mohammed Ou ben 'Ali, had distin-
guished himself. For a long time already, at the head of his
"ikhs," he had succeeded in imposing himself upon each of the
minor sheiks whose council ensured the government of the ham-
lets of the olive grove of Tisgin. Soon, in an agadir built out of
his solicitude to harbor the provisions of the inhabitants in case
of danger, he had constructed a solid house decorated with a
monumental door, still visible in our day amidst the ruins. In
order to make security prevail in the plain and to realize his
ambitious projects, Ou ben 'Ali, in imitation of the chief of
Tagontaft, then gathered around him a small troop of mercenaries,
and his name began to be known at a great distance and his pro-
tection respected.

175 The pasha of the casbah of Marrakech /Marrakesh/, Brahim
* 634 el Grawi, governor of the tribes of the Dir -- the same one who
648 was to let the amghar of Tagontaft grow important for want of
power to stop him -- began to be disturbed about the doings of
Ou ben 'Ali and then named to the command /287/ of Tisgin a
minor kaid, Bou Houch, whose mission was to stop the progress of
that overly active amghar. Certain of being assassinated in short
order, Ou ben 'Ali made the first move; he surprised the makhzen
/makhzan/ chief in his house and killed him. From then on, in
open struggle with the pasha of the casbah, the amghar had to
flee into the mountains, into the cantons of his leff, that of the
"Imsifem." The struggle was brief. Whatever the amaghar's
prestige and courage were, he could not hope to rally around him
the population of the villages of the Dir, whose defenseless olive

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175 descended to a house in the village of Anebdour and was observ-
 159 ing events. jumped on his mule, and, climbing the rough road
 * 631 of the Tizi n Imiri, he returned most quickly to his casbah in
 * 634 Amismiz, abandoning the people under his jurisdiction to their
 616 quarrels. The enemies of the Gontafi dispersed in confusion,
 726 without succeeding in reducing his prestige.

648 The amghar Mohammed interested himself from then on in
 pursuing his policy of conquest with the greatest energy. The
 amghar Bou Naser, of the village of Aghren, of the "Alt Atman,"
 was in flight among the Alt Tadrart of the Sirwa; he was re-
 placed by sheiks at the disposal of the Gontafi; at Taferghoust he
 likewise named his friend Mohammed n Alt Hasein. Then his
 indomitable adversary, Mohammed n Alt Ouchefar, of the frac-
 tion of Tagemout, quite close to Tagontaft, was driven into the
 Aghbar and his village occupied by the "Alt Iraten." Thanks to
 these victories, peace was assured for some years within this little
 state, conquered by arms, money, and alliances. Moreover,
 presents sent to the pasha of the casbah of Marrakech, Brahim el
 Grawi, permitted the hope that the Makhzen /makhzan/ would
 grant some years of tranquillity to the chief of the Nefis, who did
 not cease protesting his devotion to the Sultan.

175 Henceforth we see the amghar, free to organize his domain
 159 to his liking, reinforcing himself without losing time and construct-
 * 634 ing casbahs. On the pointed summit of a hill of Tagontaft, the
 • [712] tribe erects by /303/ "touiza," for the new chief, the great for-
 tress that at present bars the valley and whose appearance, both
 massive and proud, expresses so well the will and the energy of
 the chief who conceived it.

[726] At Tinnel the elder brother of the amghar Mohammed, El
 Hajj Mohammed, becomes caliphate and takes possession of the
 property of the "Alt Atman," whom he drives from their homes
 and pursues as far as the territory of the Gedmiwa. The little
 plain of Tinnel, with its fertile lands and its olive groves, so
 precious in a mountain country where crops are difficult every-
 [343] where, furnishes abundant harvests. In order to store the provi-
 sions, master masons from the Tifnout come to build a large

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[712] storehouse, which is still to be seen: the agadir n Waddar. They are inspired in their plans by the customary arrangement of the "igherm," or collective storehouses, of their country. Finally, in the middle of the fields of the "Alt Atman" of Talat n Yaqoub, left free by the exodus of the conquered, at the entrance to the Tinmel plain, another casbah begins to rise from the ground, less warlike than that of Tagontaft, which later will be the favorite residence of Si Tayeb Gontafi.

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578 After this success, prudence counsels the amghar Mohammed not to stir up war again in the fractions of the Nefis and not to risk thus provoking a new expedition of the Makhzen /makhzan/. Therefore he goes to try to expand preferably toward the south among the Alt Semmeg, whose passes he holds, and in the Onein. Here, however, a serious difficulty presents itself. The "Alt Iraten," who in the Nefis form the left of the Gontafi, are the traditional allies of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" of the south versant of the Atlas (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 239.

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616 Now this left obeys above all the amghars of the Bazzi family of the Talekjont, who for several years already have been in the service of the Mtougga kaids of Bouaboud. Moreover, the Bazzi have only a very limited authority and are incapable of guiding the politics of the mountain republics. Perhaps it would be cleverer to obtain the co-operation of the adverse left of the "Alt Zolit." Undoubtedly in the course of the war of the Nefis wadi these last have already come to support the amghar Achefar of Tagemout against Tagontaft; but the amghar Mohammed, made rich by his conquests, can easily find allies everywhere. He is known to be as liberal and generous as he is ardent in combat. Soon the amghar Hajj Mbarek of the Onein brings all his co-operation to the amghar of /304/ Tagontaft in exchange for suitable remuneration. At the same time, the Gontafi is backing the amghar Hijjo, a brave woman who has taken command among the Alt Oumzal in order to protect her infant sons. He also acquires

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[682] In 1907, when the Gontafi's party succumbs before the coalition of the Mtougga and the Glawa, the struggle becomes more intense. Each of the two amghars tries to have his rival assassinated. The Chtittihi sends one of his friends, Mohammed ou Hammo, to Si Mokhtar's, giving him the mission of killing him by treachery; but the amghar of the Aït Lhasen succeeds in seducing the emissary, and in the night, when the Chtittihi approaches to hear the news of the murder of his enemy, it is he himself who falls under the dagger of Mohammed ou Hammo. For this master stroke the assassin is loaded with favors, and later he will receive the granddaughter of Si Mokhtar in marriage. The drama has hardly been performed /map appears here/ /309/ when the Aït Mousa are attacked; their territory is conquered; [726] the Chtittihi's villages are razed, and in the middle of his adversary's fields the conquering amghar erects a command-house, [712] which makes his victory definitive.

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616 Si Mokhtar's ambition is not yet satisfied. In 1908, when the amghar of the Aït 'Abdallah, Ahmed ou Bihi, betrays the cause of the Mtouggi at one time, Si Mokhtar invades his territory and annexes it to his possessions. But at that moment the successes of Si Mokhtar, the cleverness of his policy, the influence he has won over the montagnards of the Seksawa, make him suspect to the kaid of Bouaboud. It is then that the amghar parts company with the great chiefs, from whom he has nothing more to expect. He goes to regain his full liberty, to renew alliances in the leff of the "Imsifern," which he has sometimes had to neglect in the preceding years. At the end of his life, Si Mokhtar succeeds both in fomenting among the Aït Wadouz, of his leff, revolt against Bouaboud and in protecting the dissident "Imsifern" from the Demsira. Some months before his death he finally takes over the nearby fraction of the Igountar, whom he annexes to his command, detaching them from the leff of the "Indghertit."

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*634 By the organization of his command, Si Mokhtar Seksawi, who remained independent in his casbah of Bou Taradin to the end of his life, took on the air of a true kaid, for which he

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 409]

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*634 [133] communications of the high mountain with the plain, and he can,
(1). if he likes, play the profitable role of "conciere of the valleys"

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/.

[173] Tradition tells that in former times the Makhzen /makhzan/ had
[648] powerful casbahs in this country; perhaps it is necessary to seek in
[712] these legends the recollection of the fortresses of the Ibn Sad
* [631] Allah, the great chiefs of the Gedmiwa in the thirteenth century.
It is asserted at least that the sultan Moulay Hicham was born in
the middle of the eighteenth century in the casbah of Adassil.

175 However it may be for the distant past, the anarchy of
*634 [159] Moulay Sliman's reign had given the montagnards of the Asif el
Mal their liberty again, and in the reign of Moulay Abderrah-
man, a powerful amghar, Mohammed ben Brahim, dominated
the minor sheiks of the vicinity. He belonged to the family of
the Ait Qaïd 'Ali, who had, it is said, now in the service of the
Makhzen /makhzan/, now in independence, commanded the
mountain and the valley for several generations. The amghar's
authority came to him only by his own strength. Supported by
the strong "taqbilt" of the Ind Maghous, he commanded, more-
over, the neighboring cantons that he had subjugated; they were
the Ait Tabgao, the Iberden, the Erdouz, the Anougai,
Annerni.

[712] By means of his casbah built at Tagadirt, at a point that bars
[616] the valley of the Ait Gaïr, he held the mountain of the Igdad.
Finally, his powerful leff, that of the "Indghertit," procured for
him in all circumstances the co-operation of the Seksawa war-
riors.

175 Entering in 1843 the struggle against the kaid 'Omar Touz-
*634 [726] zalti, established at Amizmiz, the amghar Mohammed first of
[631] all routed the makhzen /makhzan/ chief in the valley of the Asif
[159] el Mal, as the amghar of Tagontaft was to do later in the Nefis,
at grips with his kaid of the Jbel Kik. But in the long run the

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616 independent revenues, which they use freely. Here they are, finally having become veritable tribal chiefs, masters of small states with precise boundaries; their territory is moreover surrounded by a zone of influence extending especially, thanks to ancient friendships, into their leff of origin.

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554 It is only then that the amghar has truly established his personal power; henceforth he rises above the ancient institutions, dominates the tribe, and, if he likes, becomes acquainted with the pleasures of fortune.

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178 VII. New aspects of the power of the amghar: the prison and the /319/ casbah. -- At this time two innovations mark the victory won over the Berbère /Berber/ traditions: the construction of a casbah and the laying out of a prison. Up to then the house of the amghar, chief of the canton, was established in the village; although it was adorned with borjs and whitewashed, it still recalled, by its position and arrangement, the humbler dwelling of the clan chief of the past. At present it is a fortress specially erected on an isolated hill, like Tagontaft, Adasil of the Ind Maghous, or Aoullous of the Ihebban in the Sirwa. Often it is even built in the midst of lands gained from a soff or leff enemy. Doubtless in the choice of a place apart from the village is to be seen the desire to occupy an important point from where one commands the valley and which lends itself easily at the same time to defense against an enemy coming from the outside; but at the same time the wish to separate the chief from his subjects is thus manifest.

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178 As for the prison, it, still more than the fortress, is an index of important changes in the life of the country; its presence indicates to us that the chief is henceforth above the laws of the tribe, to which he is no longer accountable for his actions: one enters his jail when he likes; one leaves it when God wishes it.

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152 Thus solidly established in a fortress with crenelated towers, provided with a redoubtable prison, the amghar can know rest. But often, too, the ambition that impelled him to win this high rank becomes an insatiable passion. If the country is screened (648) from the surveillance of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or if other

/328 cont./

175 of Tagadirt n Bour, secretly favorable to the Gontafi, nevertheless
 * 631 was afraid to open his gates to him for fear of his subjects from the
 * 634 leff of the "Alt Atman." In order to avoid a new war in the Nefis,
 159 which would doubtless have dangerously attracted the attention of
 616 the Sultan, the amghar Mohammed assembled a small harka at
 726 Talat n Yaqoub, where his new residence was to be found, led it in
 secret on Amismiz by way of the Tizi n Imiri, and traveled by
 night on the Dir of the Gedmiwa. Having thus turned position, he
 came to take possession of Tagadirt n Bour by surprise from the
 North. Family alliances sealed the union of the sheik of Tagadirt
 n Bour and the kaid, and a solid casbah was built to close the val-
 ley. This fortress marked for a time the extreme limit toward the
 North of the territory of the chiefs of Tagontaft. It was the last
 expedition of the kaid Mohammed, who died shortly afterwards
 and was replaced by his son Si Tayeb (1883).

The young kaid, already prepared to exercise power by the
 role that he /329/ had played for several years, took command
 resolutely. He tightened the alliances in the mountains, equipped
 the little band of mercenaries that his father had left him, and
 waited for the Sultan's death in order to act.

175 II. The beginnings of the kaids of Telwet (1858-1894). --
 * 631 Several years later, about 1886, Si el Madani Glawi at Telwet
 * 634 also received his inheritance from his father, the amghar
 Mohammed Iibat.

Although the history of the first years of the acquisition of
 power by the chiefs of the Glawa is less well known to us than
 that by the amghars of the Nefis, many events that happened be-
 tween 1855 and 1880 still remaining hidden by these kaids as if
 they were dangerous to divulge, what we know about the origins
 of the chiefs of Telwet suffices for us to understand how they
 succeeded in dominating the tribes.

From the first years the authority of the amghars of the Glawa
 is closely associated with the penetration of the Makhzen /makh-
 zan/, so that the first stages of their accession to power cannot be
 exactly compared with those of the amghars of the Nefis.

175 /330 cont./

159 Aït ben 'Ali, and especially the hereditary amghars of the Mes-
 *631 gita of Tamenougalt and of Tazenakht of the Aït 'Amer.
 *634 /331/ The tribal politics of the chief of Telwet then is
 616 dominated by his alliance with the notables of the Ouneila of
 578 the left of the "Aït Iraten" opposed to the one of his country of
 origin. They help him to maintain himself among the Glawa
 and, in spite of some passing dissensions, give him their
 co-operation in order to dominate the neighboring tribes; up to
 our day we shall see them contribute to the great kaid caliphates,
 chiefs of harkas, and mokhaznis, with which the subject countries
 are exploited, and the care with which they build their comfort-
 able houses in their poor valley shows well enough that the govern-
 ment of the domains of the Glawa procures some profits for these
 intermediaries.

175 In difficult circumstances at the beginning, with a power still
 159 poorly established, an authority that varies according to whether
 *631 the support of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is acquired or withdrawn,
 *634 the amghar Mohammed Ibibat at least succeeds in two lasting
 • [712] enterprises: he builds a solid casbah at Telwet, and attaches his
 family, by a lasting alliance, to the minor chiefs of the Warza-
 zat, friends of the Ouneila. The casbah of Taourirt in the district
 of the Warzazat, well placed to command both the passage of the
 Haut-Dra and the Dadès, will serve as base for the military action
 led later against the amghar Mohammed Zanifi of Tazenakht,
 whose power and wealth have been famous in the South since the
 end of Moulay el Hasan's reign (1).

1. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 106-107.

When Si el Madani takes over the succession from his father
 about 1886, the conquest of the Feija has not yet begun; rather,
 the young leader tries to fight the tribes of the North and to reach
 the good lands at the foot of the Atlas. But a repulse among the
 [712] Zemran and doubtless also the fear of putting the Makhzen /makh-
 zan/ on guard stop him in his projects; he contents himself with
 building the casbah of Tazert, which will protect his command

175 /331 cont./
159 toward the North, in the same way that Tagadirt n Bour, in the
*631 Nefis, has become for the Gontafi a fortress to stop the Ouzgita
*634 of the Jbel Kik. Nevertheless Si Hammadi, brother of el Madani,
• [712] establishes himself at Taourirt of the Warzazat and manages to
eliminate from power the family of the amghars of the Aft ben
"All. Thanks to the possession of this important position, the
attention of the kaid of the Glawa will henceforth be turned to-
ward the south.

175 Indeed, a favorable occasion is not long in presenting itself.
159 /332/ Having left on an expedition to the Tafilelt in 1893,
*631 Moulay el Hasan, wearied, comes back with a large harka by
*634 way of the valley of the Dadès and the Dir of the Imeghran, after
648 following the great route of the oasis of the Ferkla and the Todgha.
726 Si el Madani has the cleverness to have the last stopping places of
the sherifian army prepared with care and to welcome the old
ruler with such perfect considerateness that his hospitality is noted
and appreciated. During his brief stay at Telwet, Moulay el
[713] Hasan entrusts to the kaid of the Glawa the mission of collecting
taxes in the Feija and toward the Todgha, a post that his father
had formerly received for several years, and above all leaves him
precious evidence of his confidence, a Krupp cannon, some shells,
and some modern guns. The army of the Makhzen /makhzan/
has scarcely departed before these novelties are tried with success
against the cantons of the enemy left in the nearby valley of the
Imini. Thus the future looks most favorable, and it suffices for a
"siba" to come to break out in the South of Morocco for the young
kaid of Telwet to rush victoriously into the conquest of the tribes.

175 III. The kaid of the Mtougga before the Moroccan anarchy
*631 (1850-1894). -- The reign of Moulay el Hasan had been less
578 favorable for the rapacious chiefs of the Mtougga in their casbah
of Bouaboud, and the development of their power had often been
stopped by the resistance offered them by the kaid of the vicinity.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, as we have seen, all
their history had been caught up in their rivalry with El Hajj
"Abdallah Ou Bihi, the kaid of the great confederation of the Haha,

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The only remedy is to excite against him the kaid of the Neknafa, Ahmed ben Mbarek Anflous, who makes a balance to him. But on the death of the all-powerful vizier protector of the Gellouli (1900), the favor of the Makhzen /makhzan/ passes to Ahmed Anflous, who in turn gets the command of Taznit; in these circumstances, 'Abd el Malek Mtouggi does not believe the moment favorable to get involved in distant conquests; he contents himself with subjugating and pillaging the tribes of the Demsira, Nfifa, and Dwiran.

V. The great kaid during the anarchy of the Empire

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(1902-1913) -- The appeal launched by the Sultan to all the kaid of the Empire to come to fight against the rebel Bou Hamara, who had become threatening between Fez and Taza, comes then to interrupt for a time the conquests of the chiefs of the Atlas. They themselves assemble the warriors of their tribes and go to fight in the Gharb. But the defeat of the sherifian mehalla in the Rif and its rout toward Oudjda and Oranie clearly show them the impotence of the Makhzen /makhzan/. Having come back to their mountains just in time to restore order and to stop the "siba" that their absence was enough to cause to break out, the three Berbère /Berber/ kaid felt themselves becoming, in the general anarchy of the Empire, the uncontested masters of the South. We see them then consolidate their /338/ fortresses and construct new ones; next they actively take up their military undertakings again, as if they understood that their future depends solely on the power that they will have succeeded in establishing during the period of confusion henceforth opened.

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Up to now each of them had directed his efforts on the regions nearest his casbah and especially toward the plains easy to subdue. But the great commands now come to touch one another; causes of conflict multiply. The Onein, between the domains of the Glawa and Gontafa, is the object of dissension, and the partisans of the two chiefs come to blows. The high valleys of the Ged-miwa and Seksawa are disputed between the Mtouggi and the Gontafi, and each favors several amghars in the hope of getting

/340 cont./

175 especially, on the north versant, the Zemran and the Mesfiwa,
*631 where he plants himself firmly by taking the best lands, from
648 which he expels the inhabitants; finally he commands part of
619 the "Gich" /gish/ of Marrakech; his nephew Si Hammo, remain-
ing at Telwet, sees to preserving the immense territory /341/
formed by the Ghojdama, Fetwaka, Touggana, Glawa, Imeghran,
Imegnoun, the Todgha, the Dadès, the Skourra, the Warzazat,
the Mesgita, Aft Seddrat, the great confederation of the Waouz-
git.

Thus loaded with goods, assured of peace by a harsh domina-
tion that keeps the tribes in fear and poverty, the chiefs of the
Atlas can now leave their fortresses for their palaces in Marra-
kech. They learn the art of living there as great lords and wel-
come with ease illustrious guests from Europe who will extol their
power afar. The cleverest among them discovers at the same
time the precious value of the friendship of politicians from our
country and cultivates it carefully in order to become untouchable.

175 VII. The internal organization of a large command. The
*631 casbahs. -- Such a rapid extension of the power of the great kaids
burst the narrow territorial limits within which they had been en-
closed as long as they had remained faithful to the tradition of
the amghars, canton chiefs, or tribes. But if the newly estab-
lished regime, which has sometimes been given the name of
"Berbère /Berber/ feudality," brings to the conquered populations
a complete upset of their institutions, by its internal organization
it is nevertheless closely connected with that "despotic" power of
the minor chiefs that de Foucauld observed so accurately.

The most important institutions of the new power are first of
all those that contribute toward giving security and strength to the
kaid.

175 The amghar who is still independent, or the sheik who has
*631 become kaid, has for a long time already been building a solid
712 casbah. The first fortress of the Gontafi, for example, is first of
all intended to permit him to withstand long sieges against the
warriors of the cantons of the enemy left, still capable, if a

/341 cont./

175 favorable occasion presented itself, of revolting against an often
 *631 intolerable domination. One therefore will find at Tagontaft,
 •712 from the beginning, high towers, thick ramparts, large court-
 yards surrounded by stables in which the horsemen's mounts can
 be sheltered, large storehouses in which provisions for several
 months are assembled, in order to be able to withstand a long

[312] siege if necessary. An aqueduct collects water from a nearby
 spring and brings it up to within the walls; watch stations in the
 /342/ vicinity complete the defense, and if, in a period of dis-
 order, the alarm is given, the heavy gates of the fortress will be
 closed in the blink of an eye, the battlements will be filled with
 guns, and the big bolt will be pulled from the inside on the two
 leaves until the danger is past.

Later the chief has new chambers added, superposed on one
 another without any preconceived plan, according to the neces-
 [595] sities of the moment. He ceaselessly needs new rooms for his
 more and more numerous wives; larger rooms for receiving tran-
 sient guests, sheiks, or subjects coming from all parts of a ter-
 [594] ritory always being enlarged. Although he himself lives simply,
 most often sleeping on a mat in a dark passage, the new kaid
 nevertheless has built, in order to receive guests of note fittingly,
 a few sumptuous rooms naively decorated with crude luxury, in
 which the desire of the Berbère /Berber/ parvenu to show off his
 wealth to the montagnards clearly appears.

Moreover, the fortress, planned first of all for war, soon be-
 comes too confining and no longer suffices for the exigencies of
 a large command. At the edge of a watercourse, in the middle
 of the most fertile fields gained from the enemy, the subjects of
 the kaid build him a new casbah with less martial walls, with
 larger and more ornate rooms. Talat n Yaqoub will become the
 favorite residence of Si Tayeb Gontafi. Nevertheless, if war
 again threatens and it is necessary to find a refuge behind solid
 ramparts, a fortress especially intended for defense will be
 erected on the top of a nearby hill. Such a one is the Agadir n

[533] Gouj, near Talat n Yaqoub, which moreover has remained un-
 finished, but which was constructed with care, with the advice of

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[333] the cleverest master masons. A large prison, corner towers and loopholes for defense in all directions, walls so thick that the cannon of a Sultan himself would have difficulty in destroying them, enormous reserves of grain and fodder, that is what is necessary in order to be able to resist victoriously in the future the uprising of the tribes and especially the powerful harkas of the enemy chiefs of the vicinity.

[466]
[333] Other less imposing fortresses will serve, in the subject tribes, as dwellings for the caliphates of the kald, charged with collecting the taxes and commanding in his name. All these constructions, moreover, will be executed in corvée by the tribes, under the /343/ direction of master masons coming mostly from the A'it Bou Yaya of the Sahara. Their thick walls of beaten earth -- to which is given the name of "louh" -- poorly resist inclement weather, and they crack and crumble in one generation of men. It is enough to see them to understand that a chief hardly builds for his sons. Who knows what the future holds in so troubled a country? Moreover is it not the essential thing to build fortresses with the briefest delay, taking advantage of the short periods of peace?

By their use and their exterior aspect, the casbahs erected during the period when the power of the great chiefs remained threatened by revolts and wars differ greatly from the proud constructions whose number has been multiplying for ten years. Indeed, when the great chiefs of the mountains, confirmed in their power after rallying to the Protectorate, understood that they could henceforth live in security, they had residences built on all sides, sometimes ostentatious, adorned with high, whitewashed towers, crowned with merlons, provided with garages for their automobiles. The warlike aspect that these fortresses sometimes still have is no more than decoration. It seems that these buildings are above all intended to strike the minds of the subject populations by manifesting the wealth and the strength of the master. Several of them marvelously express, in the midst of the ruined houses of the subjects, the brutal character and the

175 /343 cont./

*631 crushing power of the new domination (1)

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1. Casbah of Taliwin of the Souktana.

*631 VIII. The companions of the great chief. -- For the admin-
 *634 istration of the conquered tribes, the independent amghar depends
 602 at the beginning on the notables and the members of the jema'a
 613 of the small canton of which his father was formerly the chief. It
 is within these "ikhs," faithfully attached to his family from the
 beginning, that he chooses most especially the functionaries of
 the little state that he has created. He has found among them
 first of all the expedition leaders and the loyal mokhaznis,
 charged with forcibly keeping the conquered villages in submis-
 sion. When his power is confirmed by the Sultan, he soon tries
 to find among these earliest companions a cadì who will be able
 to render justice favorable to the interests of the new government.
 This scholar, who at the same time will be the /344/ kaìd's secre-
 [648] tary, will most often prove to be the resolute enemy of the Ber-
 [671] bère /Berber/ customary law, whose roots go down into a danger-
 ous past of democratic institutions. He will settle most of the
 disputes according to his master's instructions, and the infallible
 justice of the holy book will serve to legitimize in all circum-
 stances the decisions of the temporal leader. Sometimes, too,
 *631 according to the rank of the plaintiffs or the personal interest that
 *634 the kaìd takes in the settling of affairs, justice will be rendered,
 [692] without any formality, by the makhzen /makhzan/ leader himself,
 seated on the threshold of his house. To free himself from all the
 petty affairs that give no profit, the kaìd will choose a caliphate
 and a "mchaouri" /see "mechaouri," p. 440/, a kind of close
 advisor, information agent, and intermediary, charged besides
 with the command of his personal guard.

*631 The casbah, which has become a caravansary, fortress, store-
 712 house, and castle at the same time, is administered by an "amin,"
 *634 who is both major-domo and keeper of the provisions. The in-
 [574] numerable guests who crowd together in the courtyard and stay
 sometimes for a long time while waiting for an audience with the

*634 /344 cont./

*631 lord are entrusted to the "bab inebgioun," director of hospitality.
 •712 charged with ensuring their sustenance and that of their mounts.
 [574] A doorkeeper, the "abouwab" (1).

1. From the Arabic bouwab, doorkeeper.

keeps the key to the women's house and has the "mouna," the daily food, taken to them. Finally several "moqaddem" are put in charge of the field crops and the immense orchards, acquired recently and by every means, in the best parts of the valley.

[466] They are the ones who assemble the corvées furnished by the tribes for the plowing and harvesting, and who see to the threshing and to the ensilage of the grain.

*631 At Tagontaft or at Talat n Yaqoub, we find all these various
 *634 jobs still held in our day by the sons of the companions of the
 571 amghar Mohammed. At present one scarcely sees appear among
 [778] the kaid's confidential men a few young persons from the left of the "Aft Atman." Their fathers met death in the struggles at the beginning; their possessions have been "eaten" and their villages destroyed, but they end up by rallying to a regime that resists time. It is they who, in the newly conquered tribes, will make the kaid's orders respected, and their loyalty is guaranteed in all circumstances by the presence of their households humbly established close to the master's house.

*631 /345/ Thus, to the small army of mercenaries at the begin-
 *634 ning comes to be added, little by little, a troop of volunteers
 701 chosen from the tribe of origin. A few slaves serve as the balance
 [567] in order to constitute a reliable group, entrusted on distant expeditions to a caliphate, relative or ally of the master. The tribes already subdued each bring their contingents commanded by kaid's and sheiks, and without any pay they remain at the disposal of the caliphate for the duration of the war. These auxiliaries have, then, no resources to live on other than the ones that pillage gives.

*631 IX. The financial resources. The kaid, master of the lands.
 652 -- But the extension of the power thus organized brings to the
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*631 refractory bloc only the cantons of the Aït Tawiya and of the
*634 Ikhzamen, enemies of the Aït Imini; next comes the revolt of
616 the amghar 'Ali of Tamedakht, supported by the whole confed-
726 eration, and which comes to an end with his death. About 1906
669 the amghar Zanifi of Tazenakht rises in his turn, aided by the
amghars of the Azilal; the policy of Telwet then succeeds in win-
ning in the two leffs the Aït Tawiya, Ikhezamen /sic/, the Aït
Oubial, Aït Atman, and the /351/ Inmarakht and breaking up the
coalition; finally, after the great siba, from 1910 to 1913, the
heavily armed Glawa subjugate the valleys and put an end to the
violent quarrels of the amghars in the Azilal.

175 During these 25 years of fighting, the leff of the "Inemzel,"
*631 traditional ally of the Glawa, showed itself in the country of the
*634 Aït Waouzgut to be nearly as hostile to the kaid of Telwet as the
616 leff of the Aït Iraten, except, however, among the Ikhzamen and
726 the Aït Tawiya; most often it was the ambitions of the amghars
and their rivalries that enabled the Makhzen /makhzan/ chiefs to
dissociate the forces of resistance.

175 Tired of the country's successive revolts, the Glawa, starting
178 from 1913, undertake to organize the country in such a way as to
*631 break all resistance. Their first concern is to destroy, upon the
*634 passage of the harka, all the agadirs that they perceive in the
726 valleys of the Tifnout, of the Azilal, and of the Zagmouzen; later,
all circumstances will be utilized to ruin the collective fortresses
of the small mountain republics. The most powerful amghars dis-
appear; they are replaced by minor sheiks, often without real in-
fluence, who become simple tax collectors under the orders of the
caliphates; the "Ijma'an," those notables whose authority was im-
posed on the Aït Arba'in and directed the policy of the small au-
tonomous cantons, also give way to effaced sheiks; the "Aït
Arba'in" sometimes still exist, serving as intermediaries with the
families and applying the customary law to the extent that the
representative of the kaid tolerates it.

175 Four solid command-houses are built at the most important
*631 points in the conquered territory, in the Tidili, at Assarag of the
*634 Tifnout, at Assaka of the Aït ou Hamden in the Azilal, at
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Izogweir of the Zagmouzen. Caliphates who belong to the families of Telwet or of the Ounella, long allied with the kaid, stay in these fortresses. Around them a guard of Glawa mokhaznis makes order prevail and transmits the casbah's instructions to the sheiks; the essential function of these representatives of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is to demand from the inhabitants the highest contributions that they are capable of furnishing. They remain indifferent to the internal life of the cantons or of the villages, about whose past and customs they are entirely ignorant. They are foreigners who have come to get rich and who accept their sojourn in the midst of hostile tribes because of the sizable profits that they can reap from them.

[651]

In the neighboring tribe of the Souktana conquered shortly afterward, the exploitation /352/ of the country is done in a slightly different manner. The large casbah of Taliwin, in which Imassin shorfa /shurfa/ of the Dadès, allied with the Glawa, stay as caliphates, contains the "frida" collected by mokhaznis established in the eight command-houses scattered in the small territory; thus all the resources of the country are drained in the most rapid and the most complete manner.

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The weakening of the country, crushed by the successive contributions, is such that a few men suffice to maintain order in it. This regime, under which a sizable part of the Aït Waouzgit tribes live in our day, was that of the Gedmiwa of the plains at the time of the fleeting domination of the Mtougga and Glawa from 1906 to 1910, or even at present that of the Ida Ou Ziki and Nfifa in the command of the Mtougga. The general impoverishment that results from this intensive exploitation leads to the emigration of a large part of the inhabitants and a constant diminution of the returns from the land.

Only a few distant cantons of the mountains, sometimes treated with respect by reason of the ancient alliances and services rendered, such as the Aït Tawiya and the Ikhzamen of the summit of the Sirwa, succeed in escaping the general ruin. So the inhabitants try as much as possible to live apart and not attract, in the solitude of the summits, the attention of the caliphates of the plains.

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178 come -- in less than 50 years of governing -- to precipitate, in the state that they have conquered, the ruin of the whole traditional organization of the populations, without substituting any other law for it but that of their will, any other goal but that of their wealth.

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171 It is not surprising that well before the novel of the "lords of the Atlas" was written European travelers, in the course of rapid tours in the south of Morocco, let themselves be deceived by appearances and tried to make bold comparisons between our Western feudality and this personal power established by the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs in the bosom of the tribes. The aspect of the casbahs, built less than two generations ago but so quickly clothed with the patina of time, the picturesque and animated life of the inner courtyards of the fortresses, the relative freedom enjoyed by the great kaid with regard to the Sultan could indeed give some verisimilitude to this historic transposition.

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[648] [648] Certainly it was not impossible, by putting some good will into it, to multiply analogies; the kaid who was semi-independent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ not long ago exercised his power in circumstances that could sometimes be compared with those of the count of the /359/ Frankish monarchy, and certain practices even seemed to be identical with the most classic institutions of our feudality. Are not the "amici," the "gasindi," who surround the count represented by the "Imeddoukal," the "asahab" of the Berbère /Berber/ chief, those companions who stay in his house and among whom we have seen a natural hierarchy established according to their origins and the services rendered to the master? The amghar or the kaid, by substituting himself for the old council of the inflas formerly in charge of dividing among themselves the fines imposed on the guilty, collects the blood price as did the count in former times, the "freda" /sic/, as well as all the other settlements; that is what makes manifest their possession of the right of justice. Here, as there, doubtless in humbler forms, patronage develops, the "commendatio," in a social milieu where the weak can be saved only by abandoning to the stronger a part of his liberty, of his goods, and of his labor. The

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tribes, established according to the necessities of the moment. Moreover they are especially alliances of notables. It is thus that the kaid of the Mtougga maintains with the Ida Ou Bouzia and the Ida Ou Gelloul relations that serve him in checking 'Abdallah Ou Bihi.

The territory of the confederation is then divided into two parts, which the course of the Asif of the Igezzoulen separates. To the north of this boundary are found the tribes most used to the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and subject to sheiks; to the south, more independent units, still sometimes guided by councils of notables and always ready to unite in revolt with their mountain neighbors remaining free, the Ida Ou Tanan.

• [712] In ten years 'Abdallah Ou Bihi wins his territory. He establishes himself first of all at the Azaghar of the Aft Zelten, old center of the Makhzen /makhzan/, where the lands have belonged to the sultan since that time, and builds a casbah there. It does not have the warlike air of the "agadirs" of the chiefs of Tagontaft or of Telwet. It is a large square enclosure with walls of stones and pisé, defended by borjs /towers/, like all the casbahs of the Makhzen built in the plains. Inside, he first of all builds his house, rather modest, formed by a square enclosure, adorned by [342] two corner towers; next, some stables intended for the numerous [343] horses of the horsemen whom he keeps in his service, finally some storehouses where the tribes will come to pay the tithe.

Little by little he succeeds in crossing the boundary of the Asif of the Igezzoulen, defeats, imprisons the rebels, and reaches the frontier of the Ida Ou Tanan. Thus master of the whole confederation, he assembles its forces to conquer the plains of the South, to station a garrison on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas, and to collect the taxes in the name of the sultan. All the Haha thus profit, as they did recently in the time of Aghennaj (1).

1. Cf. above, Book I, Ch. IV, pp. 139-140.

by this domination. Spread in the /381/ interior plain of the Sous,

/381 cont./

175 where they scatter "like boats on the sea," they get rich and for-
159 get their internal dissensions.

*631 Having become powerful, 'Abdallah Ou Bihi feels cramped
648 in his casbah of the Azaghar. He has another one constructed,
619 larger than the first one, a few kilometers away on the brow of
• [712] the mountain of Amhach. This fortress, in ruins today, con-
tained a large house defended by borjs; cisterns and vaulted store-
houses built with care, to which the marabouts themselves came
to pay the tithe, which indicates to us quite well their state of
[466] abasement. Between the two casbahs stretched a large space
planted with olive trees, and all the tribes participated by corvées
in the construction of an immense enceinte wall of dry stones, in-
tended to shelter the kaid's crops. Then around the house of the
Azaghar grow the dwellings of the relatives of 'Abadallah Ou Bihi.
Finally, hundreds of black slaves cultivate the fields. By the ma-
terial aspects of his establishment, the Makhzen leader seems to
live and act like a mountain kaid.

But if one examines carefully the organization of the great
chief's power, one sees how much it differs from that of the other
Berbère /Berber/ chiefs whose appearance and development we
have studied. 'Abdallah Ou Bihi is not established on the lands
of his enemies, but on those of the Makhzen. His only rival is
the kaid of the Mtougga, but, in order to fight him and put him
to flight, he must wait patiently for the "siba" that follows the
Sultan's death. He does not confiscate the possessions of the de-
feated, but in each tribe he has the dead fields, taken over by
[651] forest, cleared by fire. Everyone owes him two days of tillage
[466] and three days of harvesting, which are enough for him to have
his silos filled, set up under the guard of an "amin."

*631 The great kaid, ceaselessly at the head of his horsemen,
175 travels through the tribes. This group that he calls his "makhzen,"
159 however, is not made up of the warriors of a privileged canton, it
619 is formed of Haha of various origins. The ones that he prizes
701 most are those of the Ida Ou Gour, for the most part of Arab
origin, because they are hard in combat; he can, in any circum-
stance, use 100 horsemen and 300 foot soldiers, who are all

/381 cont./

175 volunteers and whom he has sometimes chosen from among the
159 sons of his harshest enemies. The Aft Zelten, of the kaid's tribe
*631 of origin, are the least numerous; living in a country that is not
619 as poor, they are mostly /382/ unsuited for war and have a repu-
701 tation only for living well and eating well.

175 Finally, the functionaries of the casbah, who in the case of
159 the Berbère /Berber/ amghar are taken from the village of origin,
*631 here originate indiscriminately from the various tribes of the com-
619 mand; the chiefs of harkas and the caliphates come especially
712 from the warlike tribe of the Ida Ou Gourd. No caliphates in the
territory of the confederation, nor houses of mokhaznis in charge
of collecting the "frida." On the contrary, one finds in each
khoms proven sheiks, coming from old families, who will keep
power for more than 20 years, and it is they who, after the death
of the great chief, will receive the succession and give the
country numerous minor kaid.

175 The domination of El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi in his own
159 country thus appears to us less violent than that of the chiefs of
*631 the Atlas over the tribes that they conquered. The union of the
648 Haha is realized by the authority of a chief whom the Makhzen
619 /makhzan/ supports with its distant, but nevertheless feared power;
besides, the harmony of the tribes is cemented above all by the
attraction exerted on the warriors of the country by the lucrative
missions carried out in the Sous plain in order to collect the sul-
tan's tax. As soon as that source of profit has dried up and El Hajj
'Abdallah Ou Bihi has been killed by the sultan's poison, the whole
country will go back to anarchy, to internal struggles, to the ex-
travagant ambitions of the minor chiefs, and the work of 20 years
of efforts will disappear without leaving a trace.

The tragic end of the great chief of the Haha suffices to show
us how much his effort was strictly limited and watched over by
the Makhzen. Having grown important more easily thanks to
sherifian prestige, he is at the same time destined to know im-
mediate ruin if disgrace strikes him.

El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi had not continued, with respect to
the Tazerwalt, the policy of furious war waged in former times by
Aghonnaj.

/412 cont./

*631 this progress still remains precarious, since passions, restrained
648 during the years in which the authority of the Sultan's representa-
17 tives is exercised without being contested, break out anew at the
[578] first "siba," with a still greater violence. The peace in which
[669] the new subjects then live is bought by the destruction of most of
the traditions and customs, habitudes of local government and of
primitive justice, which for the inhabitants of the mountains are
inseparable from their very life.

[792] The marabouts, whose arbitration was exercised not only to
stop the battles of cantons and tribes but also to settle in compli-
ance with equity differences of a private nature, disappeared
first; no longer do we see them intervene with sheiks and kaidis to
defend the poor and weak as they were privileged to do with the
senates of "inflas" in the time of freedom. The old tribal law
[671] ceases to be /413/ applied and often the day of submission marks
[693] that of its effacement. It makes way for the more distant and
abstract justice of the cadis, whose complaisance toward the new
leaders is obvious.

*[634] At the same time, most of the economic institutions of the
[343] small Berbère /Berber/ cantons, whose regular functioning re-
quired the deliberation of family representatives, are smitten with
[712] decline; the agadirs fall in ruins, the common treasuries are
[652] squandered, the corvées for mutual aid become irregular, main-
[466] tenance of the séguis and roads, even the protection of the crops
[653] are no longer the object of the same care as in former times.

Finally, ownership of the land, so profoundly disturbed in cer-
tain regions near the casbahs of the great chiefs, becomes uncer-
tain; the constitution of the large domains of the kaidis of the At-
las entails, in a country already too poor to feed its inhabitants,
[423] the disappearance of a large number of villages and the progressive
[666] exodus of the Berbères /Berbers/ toward regions where the security
of possessions and persons is more certain.

[735] When the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is established
without intermediaries and allows all its weight to bear down on
the tribes, thanks to the unlimited authority of foreign leaders, one
sees profound poverty develop; one of the most constant principles

343 /303/ In the course of his travels carried out from 1902 to
712 1907 in the land of the Seksaoua and the Ida ou Mahmoud in the
[114] Haut Atlas Occidental /Western High Atlas/, Brives pointed out
the existence of collective storehouses used in these high valleys
by the Berbères /Berbers/ (1).

[113] 1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels
in Morocco/, Algiers, 1909.

[178] While these fortresses, to which one gives the name of agadir and
which are intended for keeping the montagnards' provisions of
grains and fruits, have almost all disappeared in the rest of the
country, they have indeed stood intact to our day in this region
neighboring the summits.

114 After the submission of these tribes to France in 1927, it was
121 possible for us, in the course of rounds carried out to reorganize
343 the local command, to visit the villages and the agadirs. With-
712 out trying to make here a complete study of this institution of
[648] collective storehouses, difficult to carry out in too limited a
time, it seemed interesting to us to describe the appearance and
the arrangement of these curious constructions.

343 The collective storehouses are almost all in ruins up to with-
712 in the highest part of the Asif of the Seksaoua. One finds an
178 agadir still in use only at Ikis, in the fraction /local kin group/
621 of the Ait Haddiyous. On the other hand, in the tribe of the Ida
ou Mahmoud they have remained very numerous. In the fraction
of the Ida ou Izimer /sic/, those of Ankoutouf, Tanout, Tizzirt,
Annoums, and Tamjlojt are still occupied and maintained; those
of Tanouzek and Tagenza are in ruins (2).

2. Thus each village has its own in
this fraction.

In the fraction of the Ait Tounert, one finds those of Talmakant
and Assaka still usable, those of Oualamanon, Ouaraben,
Takrekhouit in ruins.

343
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[178] /305/ Among the Ichkajen Imi, a single agadir remains in use, that of Azar; another one, which is found at Arg, has been in ruins for eight years. Finally, there are still three occupied agadirs among the Ait Dris: those of Amassa, Tajelt Oufella, Meggount; others have been in ruins for a long time at Akhferga, Amdros, Kormad, and Kakt.

These agadirs are of two kinds. There are those that serve solely as storehouses, these are the most numerous; others are used both as storehouses and as réduits for defense in case of attack on the village. The latter are, in general, more spacious and have a rather extensive place in the interior, permitting the old men, women, children, and animals to stay in shelter while the able-bodied men occupy, for defense, the few storehouses pierced with battlements and the terraces. There is [312] always a cistern in the interior of these agadirs-fortresses. In this category are included the storehouses of Talmakant, Assaka, and Azar.

[333] In general the agadir is built with schist, which gives good slabs, rendering the construction easy: the stones are put together with a clay mortar. The walls are thick, blind, and high. The general shape is square or rectangular, except at Ikis, where

[351] one finds an oval agadir. The terraces, jutting out, as everywhere in the mountains, are storied, given the slope of the terrain and the constant height of the walls. In the interior a series

[417] of narrow passages gives access to the different storehouses; from these passages rise ladders formed simply by a tree trunk grooved with notches on which one places his feet. In front of the door of each storehouse situated in a story, a little platform projects out, which affords room for supporting the upper part of the ladder coming from below and for placing the lower part of the ladder, giving access to the higher story. These platforms are also useful to the owner of the storehouse for stopping before entering his room. Each chamber has only one door and no window.

343 We were unable to obtain information about any written rule
712 of customary law concerning these agadirs. It is nevertheless
124 practically certain that very old ones do exist, especially among

[671]
[178]

343 /305 cont./

712 the Ida ou Mahmoud, and with a little patience and perserver-
124 ance it will be possible to see them. But the custom is known
[178] by all, and it is enough to interrogate the users in order to ob-
tain the desired information and explanations concerning it.

/306/ Agadir of Ikis (1)

[621]

1. Ikis is a village of 55 hearths. It is at the same time the most important village of the subfraction of the Alt Haddiyous formed by Ikis and the Ida ou Gerioun villages.

(Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and Fig. 13). -- It includes 74 chambers on two or three stories; ten almond trees grow in the interior court-
[351] yard. In good condition, it has nevertheless not been utilized
[245] any more for ten years; it served for storing nuts, raisins, peaches, and almonds. The successive poor harvests caused by frosts on
[434] the one hand, the rise in the cost of living on the other hand,
[432] forced the natives to sell a greater quantity of their products on the souq /sook/ in order to procure cotton goods, sugar, tea, and cereals for themselves. The agadir has therefore been less use-
ful these last years, but if a good harvest of fruits should happen, such as has not been seen for a long time, the collective store-
house would be utilized anew.

The agadir is the common property of the people of Ikis. Each of them owns, by virtue of ancient rights, one, two, or
[423] three chambers; ten years ago, when the storehouse was in use,
[621] some chambers were sold -- very rarely -- or mortgaged. Each
[432] owner has the keys to his chambers. In calm periods the key to
[426] the entrance gate was deposited with the fqih of the mosque, who entrusted it to the users in case of need. In troubled periods
343 two guards were placed at the agadir. They were furnished by
712 the owners in turn, according to the number of chambers that
625 they owned, or then again they continued to stay and were then paid by all the users. The agadir, situated 300 meters from the

/306 cont./

343 village, happened to be at the center of a cirque forming a reso-
 712 nator, the guards would hear any suspicious noises; in this case
 [625] they would fire a few gunshots and help would arrive from the
 village; the prowlers would then run away. No one remembers
 that a theft has been committed in this agadir.

Agadir of Ankoutouf (Figs. 6, 7 and Fig. 14). -- It has 90
 chambers, 60 of which are used, and three stories. It is espe-
 [621] cially well constructed and maintained. It is the agadir of the
 [423] village of Ankoutouf (48 hearths). Each hearth owns one to
 [628] three chambers; property deeds attest to these rights. Four
 [426] rooms are mortgaged, for a price that goes from 8 to 15 douros,
 to some natives of Tizza, a village that does not have an agadir.

Each owner has the key to his rooms. The guard, who lives
 343 inside the agadir with his family, has the key to the outer gate.
 712 He is appointed for a year as a rule and is changed in October;
 625 in general /307/ /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here/ /308 is blank/
 /309/ /Figs. 3 and 4 appear here/ /310 is blank/ /311/ he
 [465] stays longer if people are satisfied with his services. He receives
 a rba of barley per year and per occupied chamber. In case of
 343 theft, the thief, if he is discovered, repays the amount of the
 712 theft and pays 50 douros as a fine. The responsibility of the
 685 guard is involved only if the theft was committed after breaking
 625 open the outer gate -- and in this case it is he who repays the
 amount of the theft and pays 50 douros as a fine; but if the thief
 found his way in through a breach made in the wall, the guard is
 not troubled. The fine is divided among the owners of the rooms.
 Since no check is made of the quantities stored in the rooms, the
 victim must, in case of theft, swear along with 24 coswearers in
 order to certify what has been taken from him.

343 Agadir of Tanout (Fig. 5 and Fig. 15). -- Belongs to the
 712 village of Tanout (57 hearths). It contains 70 chambers on two
 [621] or three stories. The two borjs /lookout towers/ are empty.
 Same interior arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.

/From p. 307 in the original source./

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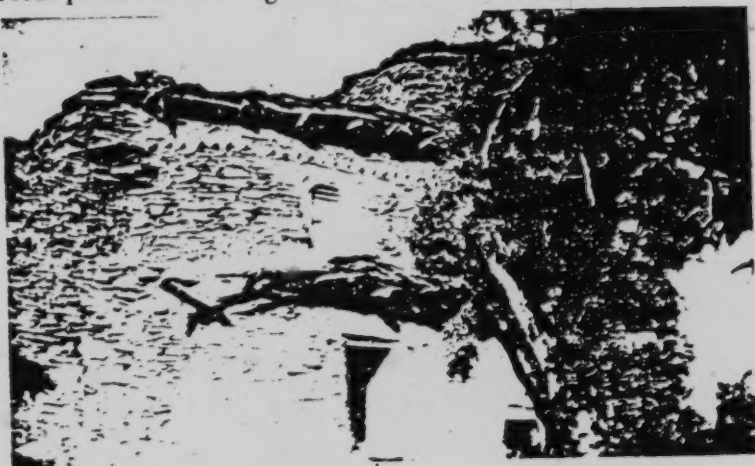


Fig. 1. -- Agadir of Ikis. Surrounding wall.



Fig. 2. -- Agadir of Ikis. Entrance gate.

/From p. 309 in the original source./

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Fig. 3. -- Agadir of Ikis. Interior view.

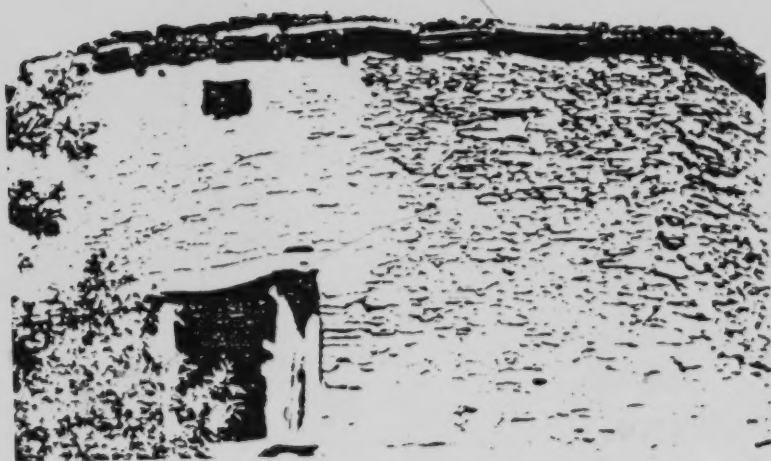


Fig. 4. -- Agadir of Ikis. Interior view.

/311 cont./

343 Agadir of Tizzirt (Fig. 19). -- Belongs to the village of
-712 Tizzirt (50 hearths). Certain inhabitants own up to five cham-
621 bers there.

423 Same arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.
625 The guard is usually a man. As an exception, this job was
[562] entrusted to a widow in 1928.

Agadir of Annoums (Fig. 8 and Fig. 20). -- It belongs to the village of Annoums (65 hearths).

[465] Five stories, all 80 chambers occupied; the guard receives a
[685] kharrouba of barley per chamber and per year. In case of theft,
[184] the custom is the same as for the agadir of Ankoutouf.

Agadir of Tamjlojt (Fig. 21). -- It belongs to the village of Tamjlojt (45 hearths). Sixty rooms, four stories. The guard re-
[465] ceives one tmen of barley and one kharrouba of maize per room
[562] and per year. As an exception, this post was given to a woman last year.

Agadir of Talmakant (Fig. 16). -- It belongs to the village of Talmakant (40 hearths) and comprises 52 large rooms on two stories. It can serve both as storehouse and as réduit for defense
[312] in case of attack, because of its cistern and its interior arrangement.

[682] /312/ It is in ruins in part; it has not been used any more for 25 to 30 years because an assassination was committed there.

Agadir of Assaka (Fig. 17). -- Like the preceding one, it served both as storehouse and as fortress.

[669] It was destroyed in part following internal struggles in 1925, and it is planned to put it back into condition. It serves at pres-
[727] ent to shelter the numerous exiles who returned to the tribe after the submission and found their houses demolished.

Agadir of Azar (Fig. 18). -- It belongs to the village of Azar (28 hearths).

It normally serves as storehouse and in troubled times as fortress. The rooms are mortgaged for 5 to 20 douros. The
[465] guard, changed every year, collects a kharrouba of barley, one kharrouba of maize, and a pound of almonds.

/312 cont./

343 In case of theft, if the thief is discovered, he must, irre-
 712 spective of the punitive sanction that is imposed on him by the
 685 amghar /leader/ of the fraction, indemnify his victims. If the
 theft was committed through a hole made in the wall and if the
 thief is not discovered, the village in the midst of which the
 agadir is built is held responsible and must indemnify the victims
 [625] of the theft. If the theft was committed after breaking open the
 entrance gate, the guard is held responsible, must indemnify the
 victims of the theft. The latter must bring 24 coswearers in
 order to certify the quantities that they declare was stolen from
 them.

343 Agadir of Amassa (Figs. 10, 11, 22). -- It belongs to the
 712 people of Amassa (80 hearths), contains 80 chambers, 3 of
 [621] which are on the fifth story, all are utilized; most of the doors
 [423] are painted and worked. A room is mortgaged for 10 to 50
 [426] douros and is sold for up to 100. The guard receives a kharrouba
 [432] of barley per year and per room, except for three rooms on the
 [625] fifth story, which pay nothing. In addition, the guard is fed, as
 [465] the fqih of the mosque is at the present time in Berber country.
 He is supplied with three meals a day, each owner taking his
 [685] day in turn. The three rooms on the fifth pay nothing, but in
 return they have no right to indemnity in case of theft.

Each owner is obliged to make the repairs necessary to main-
 [358] tain his room in good condition. Thus the owner of one /313/
 /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here/ /314 is blank/ /315/ /Figs. 7 and
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 here/ /318 is blank/ /319/ /Figs. 11 and 12 appear here/
 /320 is blank/ /321/ chamber may take action against the one
 of the one below, if it should happen to collapse, or against the
 one of the room above, if it lets water coming from the terrace
 [685] leak through. In case of theft, the custom is the same as for
 [184] the agadir of Ankoutouf.

[621] Agadir of Tajelt Oufella (Fig. 12 and Fig. 23). -- It be-
 [423] longs to the village of Tajelt Oufella (33 hearths). It comprises
 60 rooms and four stories.

/From p. 313 in the original source./

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Fig. 5. -- Agadir of Tanout (Ida ou Izimmer), entrance gate.

[417]



Fig. 6. -- Agadir of Tanout. The terraces.

/From p. 315 in the original source./

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Fig. 8. -- Agadir of Annoums
(Ida ou Izimmer). Interior.



Fig. 7. -- Agadir of Ankoutouf.
Interior.

/From page 317 in the original source./

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[411]



Fig. 9. -- Agadir of Amdros (Ait Dris).

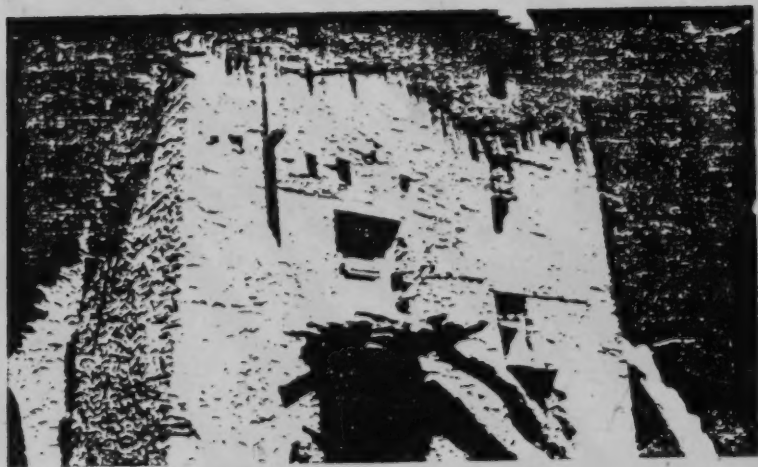


Fig. 10. -- Agadir of Amassa. Interior.

/From page 319 in the original source./

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Fig. 12. -- Agadir of Tajelt
Oufella (Ait Dris).

(291)



Fig. 11. -- Agadir of Amassa
(Ait Dris).

/321 cont./

343 The guard is a volunteer who remains as long as he wishes,
 712 if the users are satisfied with his services. Every year he is given
 625 a half-kharrouba of barley per room, utilized or not; furthermore,
 [465] he is fed by the owners of the chambers. A turn is established
 as follows: if there are three rooms in height, each owner in
 turn guarantees 3 meals a day; if there are four rooms in height,
 the owners of the highest and lowest ones together guarantee a
 day; the following day it is the owners of the middle chambers.
 [358] The same rules as at Amassa are followed for the respective
 [184] responsibility of the users in case of collapse or the infiltration
 of water. The guard is responsible only for thefts committed
 [685] after a break through the outer gate, not for those that have
 been made through a breach in the wall. The thief, if he is
 discovered, repays the amount of the theft and gives a cow that
 is divided among the owners, taking into account the number of
 chambers; the same rule is applied against the guard, if he is
 responsible. The victims of the theft provide 24 coswearers.

343 Agadir of Meggount (Fig. 24). -- It belongs to the inhabit-
 712 ants of the village of Meggount (80 hearths). The rules for its
 621 operation are the same as at Tajelt Oufella in what concerns
 423 poor maintenance and theft.

358
 [685] In all these collective storehouses, if repairs concerning the
 [184] agadir itself and not only one room become necessary, all the
 co-owners are jointly liable. They carry out the work in com-
 mon and, according to the number of shops they occupy, bear
 the costs caused by this repair, for the purchase of wood, the
 salary of the workers, or any other expenditure.

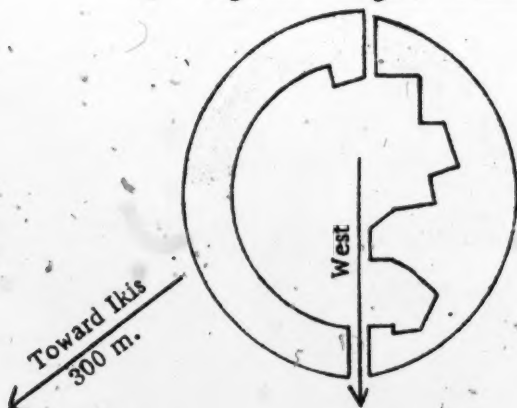
Imi n Tanout, 15 March 1928.

Lieutenant Pierre Dupas.

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 bearing Figs. 13-24./

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Fig. 13. -- Agadir of Ikis.



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Fig. 14. -- Agadir of Ankoutouf.

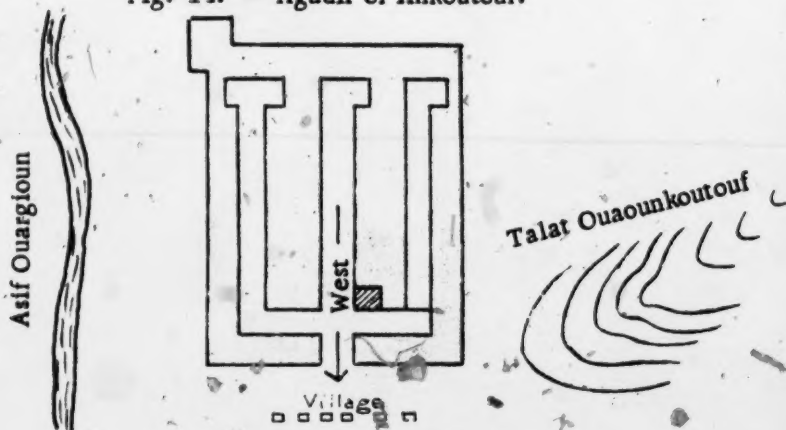
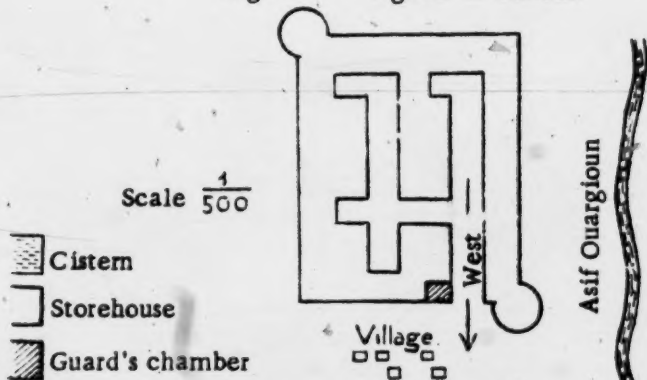


Fig. 15. -- Agadir of Tanout.



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Fig. 16. -- Agadir of Talmakant.

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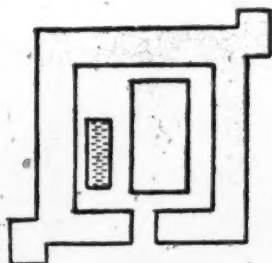


Fig. 17. -- Agadir of Assaka.

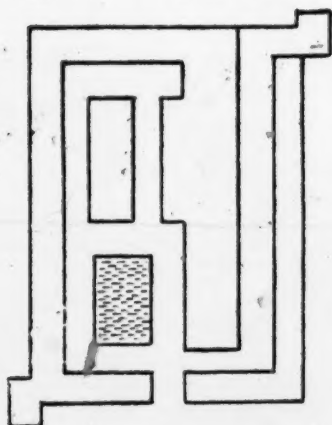
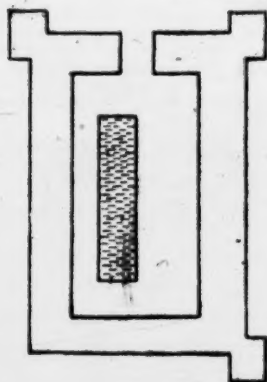


Fig. 18. -- Agadir of Azar.



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Fig. 19. -- Agadir of Tizzirt.



Fig. 22. -- Agadir of Amassa.

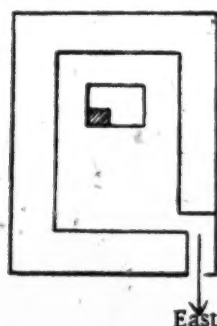


Fig. 20. -- Agadir of Annoums. Fig. 23. -- Agadir of Tajelt Oufella.

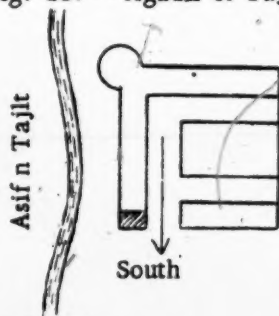


Fig. 24. -- Agadir of Meggount.

Fig. 21. -- Agadir of Tamjlojt.

